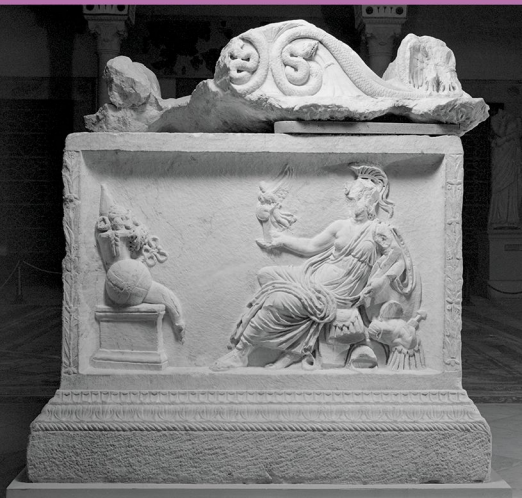


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Pax and the Politics of Peace

Republic to Principate

Hannah Cornwell



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Pax and the Politics of Peace

Republic to Principate

HANNAH CORNWELL

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To Louise, Liv, and Simon

Preface

This project started life, as so many first books do, as a doctoral thesis. I had intended to work on Roman victory monuments; however, whilst in Rome two weeks prior to starting the project, Ben Russell had pointed out that ‘Of course, the ara Pacis is a victory monument.’ Subsequently, I spent the first year trying to get to grips with what I increasingly realized was a highly complex monument, open to much debate and constant (re)interpretation. In that first year I learnt that, despite general assumptions on the nature of peace, it is by no means an easy concept to tie down. As the altar to Augustan Peace demonstrates, the concept of Roman peace (or *pax*) consisted of many layers and associations: not merely the absence or aftermath of war, but as part of a much greater discourse on the nature of power and how Rome saw her place in the world. The ara Pacis, as perhaps the first attempt to express in monumental form what an imperial concept of peace might look like, was the impetus for this project. It is also, in certain respects, a culmination of a story about the development of such a concept. It is this story that I offer in the following pages.

The present work would not have been possible without the help and support of a great many people. Above all, my thanks go to Josephine Crawley Quinn for everything, but particularly for helping me find my way through my thesis and well beyond. Her critiques of my arguments, at all stages, have not only helped me to clarify my own thinking and communication of my ideas, but also instilled in me the ever important question: ‘This is interesting: how is it relevant?’ I am also indebted to Katherine Clarke, my mentor for this book, for reading both the thesis and subsequent manuscript (in what must be record time), and for enabling me to write the book I wished to write whilst helping me improve on and reformulate my ideas. Thanks likewise go to Greg Woolf and Ed Bispham, whose thorough examination report on my doctoral thesis offered new directions to explore, which became fundamental to the structuring of this book. All of this would have been in vain, without the ever patient Georgina Leighton at OUP, who answered every question, large or small, and guided me through the publishing process.

Central to the development from thesis to published volume has been the British School at Rome (BSR). In 2014, I received a Mougins Museum Rome Award at the BSR, which enabled me to start work on the monograph. I owe a great debt of thanks to Christopher Smith and all the staff and visitors at the BSR for their help, support, and endlessly inspiring conversations, not just during my award, but on many occasions before and since. Special thanks go to Stefania Peterlini for all her help with permissions for images, and access to museums and sites. I am also grateful to both Trinity and Keble Colleges in Oxford for allowing me the time to take up the Rome Award, whilst employed as a College Lecturer. It has been thanks to the Early Career Fellowship I received from the Leverhulme Trust that I have been able to complete this monograph, and also complete it where I began it, in Rome at the BSR.

I am grateful to a number of colleagues who have commented on parts of this project, in one form or another, during my graduate work, and at workshops, conferences, and informal discussions over the years, including Lea Beness, Alan Bowman, Alex Bremner, Anna Clark, Robert Coate-Stephens, Caillin Davenport, Janet DeLaine, Philip de Souza, Tom Hillard, Eoghan Moloney, Anton Powell, Jonathan Prag, Kurt Raaflaub, Saskia Stevens, James Thorne, Kathryn Welch, Richard Westall, and Michael Williams, and to all at the CA 2012, and Celtic Conference in Classics 2014 and 2016 with whom I discussed my work. Likewise, I would like to thank all my colleagues at Keble, Trinity, and Worcester Colleges, Oxford, and the BSR cohort of 2014.

A special thanks must go to those whose support and friendship have been with me from the start, and to a few who I met only recently, who have all shaped my thoughts and ideas, and made them better, who have reminded me what it is to enjoy the writing process, and who have made this book what it is: Jane Masségla, Olivia Masségla, Georgy Kantor, Boris Chrubasik, Alexandra Coghlan, Lydia Matthews, Aneurin Ellis-Evans, Tristan Marshall, Olivia Elder, and Andromache and Ptolemy.

Finally, my thanks go to my parents for their support in both the small and big things, to Louise Pavey for starting me on the path of Classics, and to those who first instilled in me a passion for Roman history: Liv Yarrow and Simon Price.

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List of Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue Archéologique</i> and separately (1888–).
BMC	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i> .
BMCRR	<i>British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire</i> (1923–).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , ed. T. Mommsen et al. (1863–).
<i>Historia</i>	
<i>Numorum Italy</i>	<i>Historia Numorum Italy</i> , ed. N. K. Rutter, A. M. Burnett . . . [et al.] (2001).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–).
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , ed. R. Cagnat (1906–28).
ILGR	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae: additamenta ad CIL III</i> , ed. M. Šašel Kos (1979).
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , ed. A. Degrassi, vol. 1 ² (1965), vol. 2 (1963).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau (1892–1916).
<i>Inscr. Ital.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae Academicae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt</i> , ed. A. Degrassi (1937–67).
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae</i> , ed. H. C. Ackermann, J.-R. Gisler, and L. Kahil (1981–99).
L&S	<i>A Latin Dictionary: founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short (1879).
<i>Neue Pauly</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly: Encyklopädie der Antike</i> , ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider (2000–).
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4th edn, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (2012).
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. P. G. Glare (1982).
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (1894–).
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , ed. H. Mattingly et al. (1923–67); rev. edn of vol. 1, ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (1984).
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , ed. A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès (1992–).
RRC	<i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> , ed. M. H. Crawford (1974).

<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. G. Dittenberger (1883).
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , British Academy (1931–).
Sydenham	<i>The Coinage of the Roman Republic</i> , ed. E. A. Sydenham (1952).
<i>Syll</i> ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd edn, ed. W. Dittenberger (1915–24).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> online.

Introduction

Roman Imperialism and the Meaning of Peace

The orthodoxy of war being a natural and ubiquitous state in the ancient world is a persistent one. Nowhere is the idea more firmly rooted than in the study of the Roman Republic. Certainly, war may be described as a constant presence, shaping the social structures and experiences of those living in the Roman world.¹ Nevertheless, military activity in this world was not a static thing, and the nature of warfare and its place and purpose changed over time. But this is not a story of war, rather the concept usually associated with its aftermath: peace.

There exists, at least in a superficial way, a dichotomy between war and peace in both ancient and modern thought.² Some recent studies such as Raaflaub's *War and Peace in the Ancient World* (2007) and de Souza and France's *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History* (2008) stress this relationship and the potential causal link between the two. Others, however, have treated them as entities that ostensibly can be considered separately, such as Sordi's edited volumes *La pace nel mondo antico* (1985), and *Il pensiero sulla guerra nel mondo antico* (2001). Whilst such a separation does illustrate that the two can be examined independently, it does not remove the association between them, and indeed two titles in the volume on peace explicitly refer to war as well. As an aside it is interesting to note how authors and

¹ See for example Brunt (1971); Rich (1976); Hopkins (1978) 25–47; Harris (1979); Finley (1985) 67–87; Rich and Shipley (1993); Raaflaub (2007) 8–12; Rosenstein (2007); on the idea of *bellum iustum* as a justification for such activities, see Sordi (2002); Rampazzo (2012).

² Gittings (2012) 15–39.

editors choose to order this relationship in the titles of such studies. It appears far more common in American and European scholarship to find ‘war and peace/Krieg und Frieden/guerra e pace’, than ‘peace and war/Frieden und Krieg/pace e guerra’, although there are examples of the latter, and perhaps more frequently in Italian scholarship (although there is still perhaps a tendency to prefer ‘guerra e pace’ in Roman contexts).³ This perhaps reflects both our own understandings of peace as a product of war and a desire to throw the stress onto war as the dominant state in the ancient world, as well as an ostensibly comparable association in ancient thought. There existed for the Romans the idea that peace was contingent on war (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 7.19: ‘If we wish to enjoy peace, we must wage war; if we avoid war, we will never enjoy peace; Sall. [*Ad Caes. Sen.*] 1.6.2: ‘wise men wage war for the sake of peace’; Livy 6.18.7: ‘You only have to make a show of war and you will have peace’), though this did not necessarily preclude a focus on peace as opposed to war. Indeed, if we accept the references made by St. Augustine in book 19 of *De civitate Dei* to a work of Varro on peace (*Pius aut de pace*), we have evidence that in fact peace was considered as a natural, desired state in the ancient world, at least in Varro’s presentation (*De civitate Dei* 19.12: *nemo est qui pacem habere nolit*). Given the context in which Varro was most likely writing his work—39 BC—his argument for a state of peace is an understandable one, suggesting the importance and relevance of the concept in a period of civil conflict and collapse, and so outside the traditional patterns of war and peace of the mid-Republican period.⁴

Rather than viewing peace as an afterthought of war, instead we should view it as part of a wider discourse on the nature of power in the ancient world, of which war is, of course, an essential component.⁵ Whilst other studies have focused on peace in relation to war, this

³ The phrase appears perhaps less frequently in the titles of French academic works, though both arrangements are used. An edited volume in 2001 was entitled *Guerre, paix, et antiquité* (ed. Jacques Bouineau), perhaps stressing less of a hierarchical relationship between the concepts, whilst the French magazine *L’Histoire* published a special edition in 1992 entitled *Paix et guerre en Méditerranée*.

⁴ On Varro’s *Pius aut de pace*, see Zecchini (1985); Raaflaub (2011) 324. See Chapter 2, n. 36 for Cicero’s interest in a contemporary Greek work ‘Concerning Harmony’ written by Demetrius of Magnesia.

⁵ Woolf (1993) 172: ‘The study of ancient war must therefore become the study of ancient power, or at the very least of those aspects of power involving the actual or threatened use of violence within and between states. Peace is not the absence of such powers.’

study is more interested in the role that peace has to play in Roman ideas of imperialism and the language of empire. This aspect of peace has been largely neglected in respect to analyses of the periods prior to the new political institution of the Principate.⁶ Despite its relevance to the expression of Roman power and authority, peace has taken a back seat in discussions in recent works on Roman imperialism, except as the outcome of war, or in the form of the nebulous *pax Romana*.⁷ There are a few exceptions worth stressing: Welwei in his 1989 article ‘Si vis pacem, para bellum—eine Maxime römischer Politik?’, republished in *Res publica und Imperium* in 2004, stresses the development of *pax* as a political slogan in the period of Roman civil wars, and draws the explicit link between *pax* and *imperium Romanum*.⁸ Cornell in his 1993 paper ‘The end of Roman imperial expansion’ astutely examines the concept of the *pax Romana* from its Republican origins.⁹ The purpose of this study is to examine the role

⁶ Although the Principate, as a political institution, is usually seen by the scholarship as an Augustan creation, recently the idea of an Augustan Principate has been challenged: Alison Cooley, ‘The Invention of the Age of Augustus’, 22 September 2013, University of Cambridge, at the *Augustus and the Destruction of History: Historical Scripts and Systemic Contingencies in the Early Principate* conference 2013; in 2016, Kathryn Welch and Josiah Osgood convened a conference aimed at challenging the centrality of Augustus in writing histories of the period: *The Alternative Age of Augustus*, Villa Vergiliana, Cuma, 13–16 October 2016. Tacitus’ decision to begin his account of the early Principate *ab excessu divi Augusti* offers potential insight in this respect; despite Syme’s criticism that Tacitus should have begun his work from an earlier point, such as AD 4 (Syme (1958a) 370, 427), the accession of Tiberius to the office of *princeps* with all the necessary constitutional powers in place suggests the realization of the Principate as an institution, rather than the slow, gradual accumulation of (a variety of different) powers by Augustus over a forty-year period.

⁷ For recent some discussions on the meaning of Roman imperialism, see Richardson (2008); Bernstein (2010); Erskine (2010); Edwell (2013); see also the recent republication of Ferrary’s 1988 work on philhellenism and imperialism: Ferrary (2014). In the edited volume by Hoyos (2013) peace only appears to become a relevant feature for discussion as an aspect of Augustan imperialism; see for example Alston (2013) 210. This is perhaps understandable given that the first part of the volume focuses on the mid- and late Republican periods, with *amicitia* and *foedera* being the main vehicles for expressing interstate relations, although Campbell (2013) 170 does touch on the idea of imperialism in terms of Roman peace and order, and Eckstein (2013) 90 examines Roman tactics regarding peace negotiations with Perseus of Macedon. For the importance of treaties and alliances in the mid-Republic, see Rich (2008).

⁸ Welwei (2004) 74–98, esp. 85–7; Raaflaub (2011) provides a Republican contextualization for an imperial concept of peace in terms of Roman political thought.

⁹ Cornell (1993), esp. 154–60.

of peace, specifically the concept designated by the word *pax*, in Roman political thought, and to explore the ways in which it became a vehicle for imperialism.

The term *pax Romana* ('Roman peace') is often used by scholars as a blanket term to refer to the state of peace and power achieved over the empire from the period of Augustus to the end of the second century AD.¹⁰ The term has become a byword for a nexus of ideas on the nature of Roman imperialism, and has even been applied to the Republic as regards Rome's expansion in the Mediterranean from the late third century BC onwards.¹¹ Whilst *pax Romana* is central to an ideology of Roman imperialism from the late first century AD onwards, this study addresses the birth of this concept over two generations that spanned the collapse of the Republic and the Augustan period, with the *pax augusta* as the first crystallization of an imperial concept of peace, from which what is referred to as *pax Romana* evolved.

Cornell has argued that the *pax Romana* was a product of the Roman Revolution:

It is difficult to envisage the age of turmoil and civil war in the late Republic as one in which the peaceful conditions of the principate were being formed... The real point is that what the principate brought about was an end to political crisis and civil war, not a radical change in foreign policy.¹²

In this book I argue for the integral nature of *pax* in understanding the changing dynamics of the Roman state through civil war to the creation of a new political system and world-rule. The period of the late Republic to the early Principate involved changes in the notion of imperialism.¹³ This is the story of how *pax* acquired a central role

¹⁰ RE 18.4, 2432; *Neue Pauly* 9.454–455; Fuchs (1926) 193–205; Waddy (1950); Petit (1976); Zampaglione (1973); Levi (1985a); Sordi (1985b); Cornell (1993); Woolf (1993); de Souza (2008); Östenberg (2009b); Parchami (2009) 15–16, 34–57. The phrase *de pace Romana* is found in Livy 36.29.11, where it means *pax cum Romanis*; see also Lopez (2002) 101 n. 19.

¹¹ Eckstein (2006) 572–89 distinguishes the *pax Romana* of the Republic from that of the Empire; see also Cornell (1993) 154–60 for 'The Republican origins of the *pax Romana*'.

¹² Cornell (1993) 160.

¹³ In particular, see Richardson (2008); for general discussions on the change of imperial discourse from Republic to Empire, see Fuchs (1926) 182–205; Valvo (1985); Woolf (1993); Rich (2003); Barton (2007); Rosenstein (2007); Parchami (2009);

within imperial discourse over the course of the collapse of the Republican framework to become deployed in the legitimization of the Augustan regime. It is an examination of the movement from the debates over the content of the concept, in the dying Republic, to the creation of an authorized version controlled by the *princeps*, through an examination of a series of conceptions about peace. Recent studies on Roman imperialism have acknowledged that its nature changed radically over time, and that we should not understand one idea of imperialism, but a series of ideas.¹⁴ In a similar way, the different meanings, applications, and contexts within which Romans talked about 'peace' allow us insight into the ways they understood power dynamics, and how these were contingent on the political structures of the day. Roman discourses on peace are part of the wider discussion on the way in which Rome conceptualized her empire and ideas of imperialism.

This study provides a complement to recent works on Republican and imperial ideologies, which examine specific political concepts, such as *libertas* and *concordia*. Arena's 2012 *Libertas and the Practice of Politics in the late Roman Republic* examines the conceptualizations of the idea of *libertas* and the nature of their connections with the ways in which political activity was shaped and enacted, whilst Kriz's 2001 monograph *Pax und Libertas bei Sallust* examines the political relevance of the two concepts in Sallust's analysis of the decline of the Republic. The concept of *concordia* is explored by Akar in his 2013 study, *Concordia: un idéal de la classe dirigeante à la fin de la République*, as a fundamental component of the structures of Republican political language, whilst Lobur's 2008 study, *Consensus, Concordia and the Formation of Roman Imperial Ideology* demonstrates how such an ideology was shaped and legitimized through the struggles of the late Republic. Peace is not a wholly neglected concept in scholarship, with some treatments of the ideas of peace in the late Republic and civil war period, such as Jal's 1961 'Pax Civilis-Concordia', and Lana's 1989 *Studi sull'idea della pace nel mondo antico*, which examines ideas expressed in both Cicero and Livy. Often, though, a discussion of this period is addressed in brief, as studies have tended

Erskine (2010); see also de Souza (2008) for the development of imperial peacemaking.

¹⁴ See Richardson (2008), esp. 192–4; Bernstein (2010); Mattingly (2011); Hoyos (2013); see also Cornell (1993) 159 on the changing nature of war and imperialism.

to focus on either the peace of the Empire (*pax Romana*) or the deity and cult of Peace, which only emerges under Caesar and Augustus.¹⁵ Whilst the relevance of *pax* has long been acknowledged in an imperial setting, the importance of its political currency in the transformation of the state during a period of civil war has yet to receive a full and proper analysis.¹⁶

The semantic meanings of peace, specifically *pax*, are fully examined in Chapter 1 ('The Meaning of *Pax*'), but a few words should be said here about the presentation of ancient terminology in this book. In order to distinguish between the concept and either a personification or cult deity of the same name a distinction which is not always explicit in the Latin itself, I use italics and lower case for the concept, and plain text and a capitalized first letter to indicate the deity. So whilst 'peace' is used throughout this study, *pax* (as both the Latin word and concept) is also frequently used, and always presented in italics and lower case. This is in part to stress the relevance and importance of the Latin term in and of itself (as opposed to the more broad-ranging English term 'peace'), and in part to distinguish it from the cult and deity that would emerge from the politically potent concept. The first attestation of Pax (the personification and/or deity) occurs only in 44 BC. The distinction between *concordia* and Concordia, and *libertas* and Libertas is likewise made. In an attempt to mark a distinction between the cult deity and the concept, I also distinguish the deity Pax Augusta from the idea embedded in the Latin phrase *pax augusta* (as meaning possibly both 'an august peace' and 'a peace of Augustus'). Latin words and phrases are also presented in italics, though terms such as caduceus and cornucopia are only italicized if the Latin word is being emphasized, as opposed to the symbol/object that the term represents. Greek is given in the Greek alphabet, unless a symbol/object is referred to, such as kerykeion (comparable to caduceus).

¹⁵ On the cult of Peace, see Weinstock (1960); Weinstock (1971) 260–9; Heatley (1976); on the iconography of the deity Pax, Belloni (1985); Simon (1988); Ferrero (2005).

¹⁶ Sumi (2002) 430, in his analysis of Sulla's spectacles, stresses the relevance of political tumult and civil war as a crucial factor in prompting the Romans to reconceptualize what *pax* was; Borzsák (1966) 48 acknowledges the political importance of peace during the civil wars, but concedes that there is not a place in his study of *Pax Tacitea* to examine in detail that value of peace over this period; see also Raaflaub (2007) 23 n. 25.

A distinction is drawn chronologically between the names assigned to Augustus. Prior to his acceptance of the name Augustus on 16 January 27 BC, he is here referred to as Octavian, and only regarding events and displays after January 27 BC as Augustus. It should be noted that the use of Octavian is merely a matter of convention and convenience. Welch rightly stresses the problematic nature of the way we assign and translate the names of Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus (whom she refers to as ‘young Caesar’), later Imperator Caesar Augustus, which conceals the power of the name of Caesar.¹⁷

Since this book examines and explains the purpose of peace as a means of articulating Roman ideas on ideologies and imperialism alongside the transition of political structures from the late Republic to the Augustan period, its structure is determined by the chronology of events. In particular, four different events or episodes from 50 BC to AD 14 (Chapters 2–5), for which substantial islands of evidence exist as regards peace, are examined.

Chapter 1 (‘The Meaning of *Pax*’) provides a background study to the meanings of peace within the conventional political language of the late Republican framework. Whilst other terminologies of peace are briefly discussed, the main focus of the analysis is on the semantic range of *pax* and its place alongside other associated concepts. The usage of the word is examined in a variety of contexts: contemporary prose, poetry, historical writings, and religious dimensions. The term is understood as describing an unequal relationship of power that the Romans experienced with both the gods and other civic entities.

Chapter 2 (‘Peace in Civil War’) examines the pressures that the civil wars of the 40s exerted on the conventional political language of the Republic, focusing in particular on the central role of *pax* in the debates of the time. The letters and speeches of Cicero constitute major source material for this period, and offer different viewpoints between the expedient and less guarded use of the term *pax* in order to examine the crisis of the Republic. Cicero admits to Atticus that he makes a distinction between opinions he might express in his correspondence to his friend and what he professes in the senate in public. Whilst it is not necessarily useful to draw a strict division of such material into solely public or private discourse, the different contexts of such discourses do need to be considered in relation to how the

¹⁷ Welch (2012) 12–15 likewise stresses the importance of the choice of names of the individual we usually refer to as Sextus Pompeius.

concept itself is being discussed. The literary engagement with the concept is further explored in the works of Sallust and Caesar. An investigation into the language of *pax* in the numismatic field also provides insight into the changing application of the term as the political structures of the Republic shifted. The political developments during this period of civil war explain why and how *pax* became an expression of agreement and political stability between Romans. There existed a variety of notions of what peace encompassed during this period, and these differing perspectives occurred in different contexts as thought expressions of different political individuals. As the political structures were challenged and bolstered by and through politicians' use of political ideology and language, the meaning of peace achieved a more central role in political discourse.

By 36 BC peace was celebrated without the need for an opponent. Whereas Chapter 2 focuses on the effects of civil war on political language and vice versa, Chapter 3 ('Peace over Land and Sea') considers the role of peace within the profuse displays of triumphal ideology in the aftermath of the final decade of civil war. The lack of a developed iconography for *pax* (compared with that of *victoria*) is tackled, particularly with reference to the monumental displays after Actium, to demonstrate the triumphal significance afforded to *pax*. The idea of expressing power not in relation to an opponent, but as an assertion of *imperium* over land and sea, as the achievement of peace, is a central concern of this chapter.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine the ways in which the civil wars influenced the application of the term *pax* in the context of political and imperial discourses from the 40s to 29 BC. The final chapters analyse the role of *pax* as a vehicle for Roman imperialism and discourses on the nature of the Roman empire in 20–17 BC and 13–9 BC respectively. Chapter 4 ('Peace in the New Age of Augustus') examines the evolution of *pax* at Rome within the wider display of the new age (*novum saeculum*), which is intimately associated with Augustus' control over the *res publica* and empire. In particular, the monumentalization and dramatization of *pax* with external peoples are scrutinized through the lens of how Augustus and the senate depicted the diplomatic success with the Parthians. In this 'moment' the diplomatic aspects of peace are subsumed into a rhetoric of empire and triumphalism.

Chapter 5 ('The *Pax Augusta*') examines in detail the dedication of an altar to Augustan Peace at Rome. The altar is, as far as the surviving evidence and our literary sources indicate, the first monumental display

directly associated with the personified form of Pax. In this commemoration *pax* was qualified as ‘Augustan’, and this may be understood as the first step towards *pax* becoming an imperial virtue. Within Augustus’ lifetime the worship of this cult was adopted in different parts of the empire, as a means of engaging with a truly Augustan ideal. *Pax* becomes a vehicle for expressing messages about Roman imperialism. The study concludes by examining the afterlife of the *pax augusta* and how a fully fledged imperial concept of the *pax Romana* developed (‘Conclusion: From *Pax Augusta* to *Pax Romana*’).

The changing attitudes and meanings of empire and imperialism were explored by John Richardson in his 2008 *The Language of Empire*, as a study of what the usage of the words *imperium* and *provincia* from the third century BC to the second century AD might reveal about patterns in Roman thought and how these related to the development of the Roman Empire.¹⁸ In a similar fashion, this book examines the concept of peace, in the form of *pax*, not only to question how the Romans saw peace as part of their political thought, but also to explain the emergence of a new concept of empire explicitly articulated through the language of peace.

¹⁸ See also Bernstein (2010); Edwell (2013).

The Meaning of *Pax*

auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem, appellant. (Tac. Agr. 30.6)

To rob, to slaughter, to ravage under false names they call ‘empire’, and the desolation they create, ‘peace’.

Tacitus’ well-known assessment of Roman imperialism, dramatically placed in the mouth of the Caledonian chieftain Calgacus as a form of condemnation, engages with how the harsh realities of imperial rule are purportedly justified (and disguised) under the name of peace.¹ Tacitus’ Calgacus is undoubtedly a striking character, whose quality of Roman-ness and command of the Latin language allow him to deconstruct Roman imperial ideology on its own terms.² The relationship between the two words may be seen as a foundation of Roman imperial ideology. Whilst Pliny the Elder, Martial, and at times Seneca the Younger construct views of *pax* as a laudatory expression and explanation of empire, Tacitus’ presentation of the *pax Romana* is more telling.³ The concept of the *pax Romana* as a deceptive tool that is, in reality, powerful and aggressive (a *vis*

¹ Cf. Tac. Hist. 4.17.2: *admonebat malorum, quae tot annis perpassi miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent* (‘he reminded them of the ills, which they had suffered for so many years, and which they falsely called “peace” instead of (the reality of) miserable slavery’); Agr. 21.2: *idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset* (‘and this, due to their inexperience, they call “civilization”, although it is actually part of their servitude’).

² On the *Romanitas* of Calgacus and in particular his speech at Mons Graupius, see Clarke (2001).

³ Plin. HN 27.1.1 for the boundless grandeur (*inmensa maiestas*) of the *pax Romana*; Martial 7.80.1 and Sen. Clem. 1.1.2 on the restraining and tempering nature of the *pax Romana*; Sen. Clem. 1.4.1–2 on the dependency of the *pax Romana* on the one man ‘who is the bond (*vinculum*) of the *res publica*’. However, see also Sen. Prov. 4.13–16 for a criticism of the *pax Romana* in correlation to the natural state of

Romana)⁴ is alluded to several times throughout his works.⁵ Yet Tacitus himself is not fully damning of the purpose and role of *pax* within his presentation of Roman imperialism; rather he seeks to explore the intimate relationship between the two ideas, as part of an imperial ideology.

This relationship between *imperium* and *pax*, as a key facet of imperial rhetoric on the nature of empire, has been studied as a particular concern of the writings and political thought of the imperial period, rather than of the Republic.⁶ There are, of course, undeniable changes to the notion of imperialism over the period of the late Republic to early Empire, and in recent years the relevance of peace to discussions of this change has received attention.⁷ The role of peace within the changing perceptions of Roman imperial ideology is clearly presented in Woolf's essay 'Roman Peace'. In it he discusses the shifting ideologies of imperialism from the Republic to Empire through an examination of the concepts of war and peace. During the Republic the discourse on war and peace focused on the distinction between the two spheres of activity: domestic (*domi*) and military/foreign (*militiae*).⁸ One clear demonstration of this distinction is seen

the peoples living beyond Rome's control; see Huttner (2000) for Seneca as the first writer to explicitly criticize the *pax Romana*; see also Lopez (2002) 101 n. 19.

⁴ Tac. Ann. 3.60.3.

⁵ Tac. Ann. 12.33: *qui pacem nostrum metuebant* ('who were afraid of our peace'), which Rutherford (2010) 328 labels 'a telling oxymoron'. Here *pax* is presumably euphemistic for 'subjugation'; see also Tac. Agr. 11.4; 21.2; Germ. 14.2; 36.1; Hist. 4.17.2; Richmond (1944) 43; Syme (1958a) 529; Woolf (1993) 181; Lopez (2002) 102–3; Rutherford (2010).

⁶ Woolf (1993) 178: 'This equation of *pax* and *imperium* is not found in Republican writing, despite the existence of an empire in the Republic and a developed theory of *imperium*.' See Lopez (2002) 104–10 for the 'paradigm shift' after Actium, in which he sees the link between *pax* and *bellum* fade in favour of a new orientation of *pax* and *imperium*.

⁷ Woolf (1993); Rich (2003); Rosenstein (2007); Barton (2007); de Souza (2008); Parchami (2009); Erskine (2010).

⁸ Woolf (1993) 175: 'this dichotomy is not exactly equivalent to our distinction between war and peace. But the two spheres were truly and consistently opposed, each acquiring its characteristics from the other.' See also Richardson (1991); Rosenstein (2007) 229–30; DeBrohun (2007) 256–7. Whilst the distinction between these two spheres has, since Mommsen, been conceptualized as a division between *imperium domi* and *imperium militiae*, see Drogula (2007) for the argument that *imperium* (as supreme military power) was only taken up by magistrates outside the *pomerium* apart from in exceptional circumstances (triumph, dictatorship, and the exercise of the *senatus consultum ultimum*); otherwise, it was the *potestas* of a magistrate's office

in the assumption and setting aside of military dress at the *pomerium* as a visual show of the transition between the two spheres of activity:

togulae lictoribus ad portam praesto fuerunt; quibus illi acceptis sagula reiecerunt, catervam imperatori suo novam praebuerunt.

(Cic. Pis. 55)

Short togas were ready for the lictors at the gate, which they took, and laid aside their military cloaks, and so formed a new crowd for their *imperator*.

By adopting a civilian dress (*toga*), the lictors demonstrate that they are now part of the sphere of domestic politics, rather than foreign policy. These Republican notions of space marked the conceptual divide between the sphere of activity associated with war and that concerned with civic affairs.⁹ Of course, this is not to deny the application of the language of war and peace within disputes of an internal political nature, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, such a blurring of the delineation between the spheres of activities during the collapse of the Republic may be indicative of the transformation of political concepts and norms. These were, in many respects, replaced or superseded under the Empire by new ideas about peace and war:

A difference emerges then between Republic and imperial values. Roman emperors were no less warlike than their Republican predecessors but the importance of territorial aggrandisement shifted from *doxa* to opinion, out of the universe of the undiscussed (because undisputed) in the Republic, into the universe of the discussed under the Empire. It was now possible to challenge Republican values, or to put it another way, there was now a plurality of positions on the issue.¹⁰

Woolf delineates a major change from the Republic to Empire as regards imperialism, and is mostly concerned with the imperial concept of *pax Romana*, as a justification for imperialism and the Empire.¹¹ His broad diachronic analysis opens up the possibility of

that enabled them to carry out their civic, administrative, and juridical duties, without the need for *imperium*.

⁹ See also Caes. *BCiv.* 1.6; Livy 5.52.15, 41.10.5, 42.49.1–2, 45.39.11; Varro *Ling.* 7.37; Dio Cass. 53.13.4; Cic. *Fam.* 8.10.2 uses the term *paludatus* ('wearing a military cloak') to signify taking up military command.

¹⁰ Woolf (1993) 183–4.

¹¹ His discussion focuses on the first and second centuries AD.

examining in detail the beginnings of the transition and change from the Republic to the Empire.

Scholarship has linked the change in ideas of peace and war with changing political, social, and cultural conditions.¹² Parchami is correct, in a sense, when he states that under the Republic it was war that was stressed, whereas under the Empire, peace was emphasized more strongly.¹³ However, during the late Republic and early Principate the stress was constantly changing according to the context, author, and audience. As the political structure of the Republic broke down, individuals sought to dominate the debate on internal stability through the assertion and promotion of particular qualities and ideals. Concepts of political value were negotiated, manipulated, and redefined by individuals attempting to control their position during a period of instability and uncertainty. Within this context, ideas of peace, and specifically the concept of *pax*, became politicized: the meanings and applications of *pax* became an ideological battleground in the fight for political control, and peace became a politicized concept. With this in mind, we can push Woolf's idea of a 'plurality of positions' on the nature of Roman imperialism further and examine in detail how *pax* acquired a central role within imperial discourse over the period of the collapse of the Republic to become a legitimizing factor for Augustus and the eventual establishment of the Principate.

This study examines *pax*, as an element in Roman political language, and its relation to the political, social, and cultural changes of the *res publica* from the late first century BC to the early first century AD, through a series of historical 'moments' that brought the debate about peace to the forefront of political discourse. As the political scientist James Farr states: 'to understand conceptual change is in large part to understand political change, and vice versa. And such understanding must of necessity be historical.'¹⁴ The story of *pax* develops from the debates over the content of the concept in the dying Republic to the creation of an authorized version, controlled by the *princeps*. The use and application of *pax* in political discourse was

¹² Woolf (1993) 176; Barton (2007) 246. During the slow collapse of the Republic the meaning and application of the term *res publica* became increasingly problematized and debated; see Morstein-Marx and Rosenstein (2006) 625–6; Batstone (2010); Flower (2010a); Flower (2010b) 135–53, 161–4; Wiseman (2010); Welch (2012) 1–33; Hölkeskamp (2013) 14–15.

¹³ Parchami (2009) 19.

¹⁴ Farr (1989) 24–5; see also Skinner (1989).

by no means a constant and an examination of the precise instances when the term was adopted, debated, and challenged, alongside a consideration of the instances where it was absent from the discourse will allow us to view the concept as part of a dynamic process of sociopolitical interactions and relationships. Examining the ways in which the concept *pax* was used and changed is also to examine the broader context of the changing conditions and nature of Roman imperialism.

Before turning to consider how the Romans of the first century BC defined *pax*, a brief note on the sources for this study is necessary. The aim is to conceptualize the role of *pax* through examination of contemporary literary, documentary, numismatic, and material evidence, and thereby to reconstruct the discourses on *pax* and imperialism over the course of the two generations that witnessed the collapse of the Republic and the creation of the Principate.¹⁵ The initial discussion of peace in this chapter seeks to provide the background for the semantics of *pax* and the role of the concept within the wider political language of the late Republic, drawing on both mid- and later Republican literary and numismatic evidence to establish the place of peace in Roman thought.

PERCEPTIONS OF PEACE

The notion and meaning of ‘peace’ is, in many respects, allusive.¹⁶ Whilst it can be understood as standing in opposition to war,¹⁷ this hardly grasps the full application of the term. Peace, Gittings has recently stressed in his 2012 book *The Glorious Art of Peace*, far from being the mere absence of war, is rather a dynamic process

¹⁵ Brunt (1990) 288 proposed to draw on ‘actual statements by Romans, as the clearest indications of what was most explicit in their own consciousness’. Cf. Woolf (1993) 174.

¹⁶ The Roman concept of peace has received a certain amount of attention in scholarship since the early twentieth century: Fuchs (1926); Waddy (1950); Weinstock (1960); Jal (1961); Zampaglione (1973); Petit (1976); Gruen (1985); Milani (1985); Valvo (1985); Sordi (1985b); Lana (1989a); Woolf (1993); Rich (2003); Welwei (2004) 74–98; Barton (2007); Debrohun (2007); Raaflaub (2007); Rosenstein (2007); de Souza and France (2008); Parchami (2009); Raaflaub (2011); Gittings (2012).

¹⁷ Gruen (1985) 52 characterizes Republican *pax* as respite from war.

encompassing different discourses, dependent on the social and cultural settings: '[t]he concept of peace . . . remains open, and no culture has a monopoly on its definition'.¹⁸ Despite this caveat on the open definition of peace, Gittings has little place for a discussion of the *pax Romana* in his analysis of ancient peace.¹⁹ Certainly, Roman notions of peace may, in the initial consideration, seem to carry strong overtones of military conquest in relation to foreign, external affairs and have little correlation to modern Western understandings, as something that indicates tranquillity and freedom from suffering (a concept perhaps far more akin to the Greek *εἰρήνη*, which may, in part, explain Gittings's focus on Greek concepts of peace).²⁰ A brief overview of the semantics of *pax* will help explain how a Roman audience perceived this particular notion of peace.

The term *pax* derives from the root **pak-* ('to fix by a convention; to resolve by an agreement'), from which the verb *pacare* ('to bring into a state of peace') also derives. Yet its root is also associated with **pag-*, designating a physical act,²¹ from which the verb *pango* ('to fix; fasten; secure') derives.²² Beyond the linguistic roots of the term, the

¹⁸ Gittings (2012) 3.

¹⁹ The topic is only briefly touched upon: Gittings (2012) 18, 101–2. Instead, his discussion of ancient peace focuses on ancient Greece and China.

²⁰ Barton (2007) 246: 'by the period of the Roman civil wars and early Empire . . . increasingly *pax* will display its docile and eirenic aspects . . . The gradual suppression of the darker side of *pax*, in the Roman world—as in ours—was an evolution that revealed, one might say, the price of peace.' However, see Lavan (2017) for a critique of scholarship's traditional explanation of *pax* and on the false dichotomy between internal and external applications of the term.

²¹ Milani (1985) 25 argues that because of the concrete meaning of the root (**pak-/ *pag-*) it is possible that in origin *pax* indicated something concrete; Sordi (1985c) 146–7 associates *pax* struck with the gods with the physical act of striking a nail into a door (cf. Livy 7.2–3); Santangelo (2011) n. 17 is unconvinced by this interpretation. Lopez (2002) 97–9 examines the interjection *pax* (equivalent to the Greek form *πάξ*) found in Latin comedy as containing the idea of a limit placed on the conversation, and sees this 'fixing of a limit' as a semantic value of the root element.

²² Ernout and Meillet (1939) 720 describe *pax* as 'un nom d'action'. See also *Neue Pauly* 9. 454; *L&S* s.v. *pax*; *OLD* s.vv. *pacare*, *pax*; *TLL* s.v. *pax*; Fuchs (1926) 182–3; Milani (1985) 24–5; Rampazzo (2012) 45–54. It is worth noting that *paco* and *pago* appear to have been used interchangeably as an old form of *pango* ('to agree upon'): see the variant manuscript readings given for a passage of the *Twelve Tables* I.6–7 in Warmington (1956–9) III.428; later grammarians also noted the old form of *pago/paco* for '*pacisco*' ('to make an agreement'): Prisc. *Inst.* 10.5.32: *simplex tamen pango etiam pepigi facit secundum Charisium et panxi. sed antiqui pago quoque dicebant pro paciscor*. Cicero in *II ad Herennium*: '*pacta sunt, quae legibus observanda sunt, hoc modo: rem ubi pagunt orato, ni pagunt*' ('However, the simple "*pango*" also makes "*pepigi*" following Charisius and "*panxi*". But the ancients also used to say "*pago*" for

functional nature of *pax* can be understood through its association with the vocabulary of treaties and pacts (*foedera*) made between two social groups, bound by an agreement of mutual trust (*fides*):²³

*Fetiales, quod fidei publicae inter populos praeerant: nam per hos fiebat ut iustum conciperetur bellum, et inde desitum, ut a foedere*²⁴ *fides pacis constitueretur. Ex his mittebantur, ante quam conciperetur, qui res repeterent, et per hos etiam nunc fit foedus, quod fidus Ennius scribit dictum.*²⁵ (Var. Ling. 5.86)

[They are called] Fetials, because they presided over the public bond between peoples: for it was through them that just war is achieved, and when it was set aside, that the bond of peace was established with a treaty. From them were sent, before war was begun, those who were to seek reparations, and through them even now a treaty, which Ennius wrote was pronounced *fidus*, is made.

Here, Varro characterizes the bond of peace (*fides pacis*) in terms of interstate relations (*inter populos*), and as a state achieved at the cessation of war. *Pax*, in this context, may be appropriately translated or considered as a ‘pact’, as something that is ostensibly negotiated. This ‘pact’ not only encompasses the act of agreement, but also the state of being achieved through the establishment of the contracts (*condiciones*) of peace. Both Cicero and Caesar several times speak of the *condiciones pacis*, implying that *pax* was achieved through negotiation and agreement of two parties.²⁶ The negotiation involved in the act of *pax* is further highlighted by the use of the term in Caesar’s *de bello civili*. Of the twenty-three instances where the term *pax* is

“*pacisor*”. Cicero in the second book of *ad Herennium* [wrote]: “Agreements, which must, by law, be observed, in this way: when parties agree on a matter, the magistrate shall announce it, if they do not agree”); Fest. 296 L.: *pacionem antiqui dicebant quam nunc pactionem dicimus, unde et pacisce adhuc et paceo in usu remanet* (‘the ancients used to say “*pacio*” where now we say “*pactio*”, from which both “*pacisce*” hitherto and “*paceo*” remain in use’).

²³ Hellegouarc’h (1963) 38–40. See Gladhill (2016) 17–61 on the semantics of *foedus*, *fides*, and the meaning of ritual alliance.

²⁴ Sgarbi (1992) 77–8 notes that the phrase *a foedere* is a later interpolation in the manuscript. This suggests that, in the very least, we might talk of an expected association existing between the cessation of war and the use of a *foedus*, even at a later stage. See Chapter 3, in the section ‘The Commemorations of 29 BC’, for Livy’s use of *pax* achieved in relation to the pacification of neighbouring *populi*.

²⁵ See also Cic. *Att.* 9.19.3; Ov. *Met.* 3.128.

²⁶ Cic. *Att.* 8.8.1, 8.12.2, 11.25.3, *Fam.* 5.21, 6.4; Caes. *BCiv.* 1.26, 1.85, 3.10, 3.17.

used, twenty-two are contexts of oratory and verbal discussion, with phrases such as *legati de pace*, *colloquia de pace*, and *oratio de pace*.²⁷ Although, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, in the section ‘Possibilities of Negotiating Peace’, Cicero’s and Caesar’s intentions regarding the purpose of peace may be different, they appear to present a similar understanding of the mechanics of peace.

Such mechanics of the concept may indeed explain the distinct nature of Roman peace in relation to Greek ideas, which as mentioned earlier, seem to fit more readily into our own framework. Even though the Greek and Latin terms were both frequently placed in opposition to war (*πολέμος/bellum*), they appear to occupy fundamentally different places in the conceptual landscape of Greek and Roman thought. *Εἰρήνη* was generally conceptualized as the absence of war, and could stretch to encompass ideas of non-violent coexistence between opposing parties.²⁸ To express the legal agreements and contracts between two states the Greeks used terms such as *σπονδαὶ καὶ ὄρκιοι* and *συνθήκαι* and it was not until the King’s Peace (the *Κοινὴ Εἰρήνη* of 387/6 BC) that *εἰρήνη* was used to express a multilateral and universal agreement between the Persian king and the Greek city states.²⁹ *Pax*, on the other hand, was formed through a bilateral agreement and itself described the action of a contractual relationship.³⁰ Perhaps the clearest example of the different conceptualization of *pax/εἰρήνη* can be seen in the early first century AD Latin and Greek texts of Augustus’ account of his achievements and expenses (the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*):

²⁷ Caes. *BCiv.* 1.11, 1.26 (x2), 1.74, 1.85 (x5), 3.10 (x3), 3.17, 3.18, 3.19 (x6), 3.57 (x2). The final instance (3.90) comes in an indirect address of Caesar to his troops on his achievements.

²⁸ The history of Greek concepts of peace is, of course, worthy of its own discussion and investigation, which lies beyond the scope of this work. For the most recent work on ideas of peace in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world, see Moloney and Williams (2017), in particular Gray (2017) on the distinction between interstate coexistence (*εἰρήνη*) and internal civic reconciliation (*ὁμόνοια*); see also Alonso (2007) on peace and international relations; Raaflaub (2007).

²⁹ Fuchs (1926) 168–9; Ryder (1965) xi–xvi, 1–2; Sordi (1985b) 5–11; Alonso (2007) 208–14, 219–21.

³⁰ Fuchs (1926) 184 ‘[Die] Tatsache, daß die Lage als geschaffen gilt und daß sie auf zweiseitiger Anerkennung beruht, unterscheidet sie grundsätzlich von der griechischen *εἰρήνη*, die, zunächst einseitig und ohne Rücksicht auf die Bedingungen ihres Eintretens betrachtet, den Zustand des Friedens und der Wohlfahrt bedeutet’.

Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiore nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax.
(RG 13)

Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when peace had been achieved by victories on land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people.

πύλην Ἐννάλιον, ἣν κεκλίσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης. (RG 13)

The gate of War, which our ancestors desired to be closed once all land and sea were brought to peace by the Romans.

Here, the Latin text presents *pax* as understood through its causal relationship with victory, which stresses the achievement of peace in terms of the action undertaken. In the Greek text there is a conspicuous absence of victory as an expression of the peace achieved; the use of the genitive absolute emphasizes the world brought to peace through the agency of Rome without any explicit expression of the means, beyond the cessation of war, and therefore stresses the state achieved rather than the action undertaken. *Εἰρήνη* is not presented as a condition achieved through victory as in the Latin text, or as an expression of *totum imperium populi Romani*, but it is nevertheless understood as a condition of Roman hegemony.³¹ Of course, the example from the *Res Gestae* comes at a culmination point for Roman notions of *pax* and empire. Nevertheless, the texts illustrate that the message of *εἰρήνη* given to and by a Greek speaking audience was, in this particular instance, fundamentally different from the presentation of *pax* at Rome on Augustus' request.³² There is a clear distinction here as to how the two terms were used and understood.

This is not to say, however, that the Romans did not have concepts comparable to Greek notions of peace. Even within a Roman framework there were a number of different terms and perspectives on the aspects of peace: *pax* ('peace, pact'), *concordia*

³¹ See Cooley (2009) 27–8 on the translation into Greek of this phrase signifying the territorial extent of Roman *imperium*; see also Scheid (2007) xxx–xxxiv, esp. xxxi for the omissions in the Greek text of particular phrases and words found in the Latin text; Richardson (2008) 118–20 on the meaning and use of *imperium* in this passage.

³² For the Greek versions of the text, see Cooley (2009) 18–19, 26–30; Scheid (2007) xxix–xxxiv, also xiii–xxi on the transmission of the text.

(‘harmony, agreement’),³³ *otium* (‘inactivity, ease’),³⁴ *quies* (‘quiet, rest’),³⁵ and *tranquillitas* (‘tranquillity’),³⁶ to name the most commonly used. Furthermore, whilst these concepts all express different aspects of peace, they should not be seen in isolation, but as part of a wider nexus of ideas that were frequently deployed together to engage with concerns of public stability. In his speeches against Rullus’ agrarian bill in 63 BC, Cicero labels a range of concepts—*pax*, *concordia*, *otium*, and *tranquillitas*—as *popularis*.³⁷ All these qualities are ‘popular’ as they signify the stability of the state, both externally and internally, which Cicero wishes to achieve through his actions as consul:

qua re qui possum non esse popularis, cum videam haec omnia, Quirites, pacem externam, libertatem propriam generis ac nominis vestri, otium domesticum, denique omnia quae vobis cara atque ampla sunt in fidem et quodam modo in patrocinium mei consulatus esse conlata?

(Cic. Leg. Agr. 2.9)

³³ See Akar (2013) for the most recent and in-depth study of *concordia* as a particular concept of Rome’s political elite used to express stable relations between citizens, and in particular between political equals; see also Weinstock (1960) 74; Jal (1961); Weinstock (1971) 260–9; Rosenstein (2007) 231–2; Lobur (2008); Raaflaub (2011) 326–7.

³⁴ *otium* engages with ideas of inactivity and freedom from strife, both in terms of external and domestic affairs. The term is notably employed by Cicero from 57 BC as a political slogan; see Wirszubski (1954); Narducci (1991) 183–8. See also Wirszubski (1960) 92–3; Milani (1985) 25; Valvo (1985) 155; Barton (2007) 251.

³⁵ *quies* is frequently presented by the Augustan author Livy as a contrast and balance to the activities of war. Livy 2.48 for the juxtaposition of *bellum* and *quies*: *bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes* (‘escaping war with calm, and calm with war in turn’); see also Livy 1.13, 1.31, 1.38, 1.42, 2.15, 2.18, 3.32, 3.48, 3.51, 4.12, 5.2. This relationship is emphasized by the location of a shrine to *Quies*, outside the city on the via Labicana, an appropriate resting point for the army wearied by battle: Livy 4.41. On *quies* as a concept, see Clark (2007) 4, 8, 11.

³⁶ *tranquillitas*, as a concept that denotes calm and stillness, is applicable to both internal and external concerns, e.g. Livy 4.12: *pax domi forisque fuit . . . cum quietis finitimis neque bello neque belli apparatu opus esset. sequitur hanc tranquillitatem rerum annus* (‘there was domestic and foreign peace . . . since, due to the neighbouring calm, there was no need for war or the semblance of war. The year following this tranquillity . . .’).

³⁷ *De leg. Agr.* 1.23 (63 BC): ‘We will find nothing so popular as the peace, harmony, and ease (*quam pacem, quam concordiam, quam otium*)’; *de leg. Agr.* 2.102 (63 BC): ‘There cannot be anything more popular than that which I deliver to you, this year, as a consul of the people: peace, tranquillity, and ease (*pacem, tranquillitatem, otium*)’; *Att.* 9.11A (49 BC): ‘that a man of your admirable statesmanship would wish to act for the ease, peace, and agreement of the citizens (*de otio, de pace, de concordia civium*)’; *Phil.* 2.24 (44 BC): ‘I did not cease to be the author of peace, harmony, and accommodation (*pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor*)’.

How could I not be a man of the people, when I see all these things, Quirites, an external state of peace, freedom that is the preserve of your race and name, domestic peace, and finally everything which is dear and great to you entrusted to good faith, as it were, to the protection of my consulship?

The emphasis on *otium* as predominantly concerned with internal affairs (*domesticum*)³⁸ and *pax* as *externa* serves to deliberately heighten the contrast between two possible spheres of peace: domestic and foreign. Furthermore, Cicero links these aspects of peace to the key ideals of the *res publica*: *libertas* and *fides*.³⁹ Likewise, in a passage from his second Catilinarian speech, he contrasts *externa pacata* and *domesticum bellum*:

nulla enim est natio quam pertimescamus, nullus rex qui bellum populo Romano facere possit; omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata; domesticum bellum manet: intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. . . . huic ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites. (Cic. Cat. 2.11)

For there is no nation which we fear, there is no king who can make war against the Roman people; all external threats are brought into a state of peace by land and sea by the virtue of one man [Pompey]; domestic war remains: the traps are on the inside, the danger is shut within, the enemy is inside the gates. . . . I acknowledge myself as your leader in this war, Quirites.

Here external affairs are made peaceful, as one would expect. It is war (*bellum*) that is unusually characterized as being internal, as opposed to being described as a *tumultus*, which was declared in November 63.⁴⁰ Cicero's purpose is to use and manipulate commonly held ideas about war and peace in order to present his own position, and that of his opponents within the state. Catiline is presented as the *hostis* ('public enemy of the state'), even though he is technically still a *civis* ('citizen'), but unlike traditional notions of *hostes*, whose threat comes from

³⁸ See Wirszubski (1954) 4 n. 29 for *otium* as the opposite of *bellum*, where *bellum* is understood in terms of civil war, cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 43; *Att.* 1.30.5, 4.6.2; *Caes. BCiv.* 2.36.1; *Livy* 3.32.4.

³⁹ See Wirszubski (1960) 1–6; Hellegouarc'h (1963), esp. 19, 23–62 (*fides*), 542–65 (*libertas*). On the value of *libertas* as a politically ambiguous term, see Pianezzola (1997) 145–51; Arena (2012).

⁴⁰ *Sall. Cat.* 59.5; *Cic. Cat.* 1.5.11. See Urso (2001) on the distinction and use of *tumultus* and *bellum civile*.

outside Rome, the current threat is domestic.⁴¹ Cicero contrasts himself, as the *togatus dux et imperator*, with the *hostis* Catiline, referring to his political role within the *pomerium* (*togatus*) and that as a military leader outside (*dux et imperator*).⁴² This expression—an oxymoron, for Cicero cannot hold power both inside and outside the *pomerium*⁴³—serves to juxtapose the two spheres within which war and peace might be contextualized in order to secure the preservation of Roman political structures.

The nexus of concepts that comprised the Roman imaginary of peace was by no means static. Cicero, as just one political actor, promoted different ideals, at different political moments. In 63, he emphasizes the importance of *concordia* between the senate and the equestrian order as a means to ensure the stability of the state (his *concordia ordinum*), and underlines this point by holding the debate on the fate of the conspirators in the temple of Concordia.⁴⁴ Whilst Cicero links the importance of *concordia* as a political ideal to his own role as consul, he was not the only politician at the time to be concerned with the notion: the earliest labelled personifications of Concordia on Roman coinage were minted between 66–61. Whilst there is some debate as to the precise date of these coins, minted by L. Aemilius Paullus (*cos.* 50) and L. Scribonius Libo, they illustrate the political relevance of the concept for at least the Aemili and Scribonii, and perhaps offer a further contextualization of the centrality of *concordia* to the political debates in the 60s, of which Cicero's policy and actions in 63 were but one part.⁴⁵ From 57 BC onwards, Cicero

⁴¹ On the language of *hostis* and *hostis* declarations, see Bauman (1973); Bauman (1983) 337–40; Gaughan (2010) 126–31; Allély (2012); Roselaar (2014); also Cornwell (forthcoming).

⁴² Cic. Cat. 3.23: *sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis* ('without murder, without blood, without an army, without fighting you, as civic men, have conquered, having me, a civic man, as your leader and general'); see Narducci (1991) 166–80.

⁴³ Pompey, of course, would eventually hold both consular and proconsular *imperium* in 52 BC, and this would become a feature of Augustus' power basis from 23 BC.

⁴⁴ Cic. Cat. 4.15 on the *concordia ordinum*: *quos ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque haec causa coniungit* ('whom this day and this cause now reunited with you in alliance and harmony with your body reconciled after a disagreement of many years'). For the location of the debate: Cat. 3.21.

⁴⁵ Crawford (1974) 441 dates the coins to 62, and sees them as representative of the political ideology of Cicero in 63, since Paullus was a supporter of Cicero: Sall. Cat. 31.4; Cic. Vat. 25. The success of the war against Catiline was also plausibly

used *otium* more emphatically as a political tool, and most strikingly in *Pro Sestio* 98, where he identifies *otium* with the preservation of political order (*cum dignitate otium*).⁴⁶ By the early 40s, the focus of Cicero's analysis of the internal political situation was on *pax*, a concept that was equally promoted, although for different reasons, in Caesar's *de bello civili*. The applications of *pax* to representations and discourses on the nature of Roman politics during the 40s will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, in the section 'Visions and Versions of Pax'. Here it is sufficient to underline that, at least in the literature of the late Republic, there were a range of distinct terms, and yet at the same time a certain connectivity between these terms used to express ideas of peace. The following section considers what notions the term *pax* actually conveys in the political language of the Republic, beyond that of simply an external peace.

PAX IN THE LANDSCAPE OF THE REPUBLIC

Whilst no one would deny the existence of *pax* and *imperium* as concepts in the Republic, the correlation of the two ideas appears more as a development of the collapse of the Republic and the early imperial period, than as an explicit Republican concern.⁴⁷ An important aspect of this lies in the change in meaning that *imperium* underwent as Republic institutions collapsed into one-man rule, and the ideology of 'empire' became more firmly rooted.⁴⁸ The ideological construct of *pax* illustrates changes in the nature of imperialism from the Republic to Empire; in order to understand the transformation of *pax* as a politicized concept, it is necessary to examine its role within the political language and thought of the Republic.

As already noted, there was a conceptualization of space as distinct for activities relating to foreign affairs and for activities relating to

commemorated in the coinage of Libo minted in the same year, which depicts the head of Bonus Eventus (RRC 416). Akar (2013) 245–51, however, argues against a definitive link to Cicero's politics, and interprets the coinage as evidence of a wider engagement of the political elites with the concept in the 60s.

⁴⁶ Narducci (1991) 183–8; see also n. 34 above.

⁴⁷ Woolf (1993) 178.

⁴⁸ Richardson (1991), esp. 6–7; Welwei (2004) 74–98; Richardson (2008); Erskine (2010) 5–7. Notably Tac. *Hist.* 1.1 ties the importance of peace to one-man rule: *omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit*.

domestic concerns. In order to understand the relationship of *pax* to *imperium* in the Republic, it is necessary to examine fully the term *pax* and the sphere of activity that it was conceptualized as inhabiting. In Hellegouarc'h's *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République* (1963) the term *pax* receives little mention, and is in no way marked out as a necessary or relevant item of vocabulary of Republican politics.⁴⁹ This is perhaps not surprising considering the semantics and meaning of the term as discussed earlier; however, in order to fully appreciate the function of *pax* within the Republican landscape it is worthwhile examining its practical applications.

As Varro's discussion of the duties of the Fetials implies, the act of peace was part of a ritual process of negotiation and communication, with officials responsible for formally carrying out peace acts.⁵⁰ At least in late Republican thought the concepts of the *ius fetiale* and *iustum bellum* suggest the importance of formality and ritual as a means to ensure divine sanction for actions in the military domain.⁵¹ These formalized procedures were, in part, concerned with Rome's 'deal with the gods', the *pax deorum*.⁵² The notion of *pax deorum* is understood by modern scholarship as a fundamental aspect of the intellectual and religious culture of Rome.⁵³ Santangelo's examination of the concept presents it as a 'dynamic process' that was neither a constant state, nor had a precise, clear definition.⁵⁴ From an examination of the ways in which the Romans conceived of their relationship

⁴⁹ Whilst *pax* is recorded in the index, it is given no specific mention in the table of contents.

⁵⁰ *Fetiales*: see Rich (2011); *legati pacis*: Caes. *BGall.* 2.15.6; 2.6.4; 4.18.3; 4.36.1; 7.65.4; *BCiv.* 1.74; Cic. *Att.* 10.3; *Lig.* 4; *Phil.* 12.11; Livy 9.37.12; 9.45.1; 10.5.12; 24.29.5; 26.13.3; 29.12.25; 30.7.6; 35.13.3; 42.46.3; Sall. *Hist.* i.77.5. Ser. *Aen.* 4.242; Paul. *ex Fest.* 41; *oratores*: Cato *orat.* 95; Enn. *Ann.* 207; Caes. *BCiv.* 3.19; *nuntii*: Cic. *Phil.* 12.11.

⁵¹ On the *ius fetiale* and *iustum bellum*, see Harris (1979) 166–75; Sherwin-White (1980); Wiedemann (1986); Brunt (1990), esp. 305–8; Rüpke (1990) 121–2; Sordi (2002); Eckstein (2006); Ager (2009), 17–24, esp. nn. 10 and 11; Yakobson (2009) 61–72; Rampazzo (2012). On the fetial rites, see Rich (2011), particularly 199–235 for the ritual preliminaries of war, and Rich (2013) 559–64.

⁵² Santangelo (2011) 162.

⁵³ See Santangelo (2011) for a thorough examination of the concept and extensive bibliography on the subject; see also Fuchs (1926) 186–8; Sordi (1985c) 146–50; Rosenstein (1990) 54–91; Rosenstein (1995) 66; Linderski (2000).

⁵⁴ Santangelo (2011) 161–73, 182; Santangelo (2013) 81. See Davies (2004) 1–20 for a discussion of Roman religion as a 'dynamic system of knowledge and interpretation'.

with the gods, it is possible to find a template for how they conceived of constructs of *pax* between mortals.⁵⁵

The earliest extant literary examples of the notion come from Plautus. Whilst the idea of peace with the gods in general is expressed in Plautus' comedies,⁵⁶ for the most part the examples testify to an individual contract: *pax* is sought from Aesculapius to ward off illness (Plaut. *Curc.* 270), whilst Jupiter (*Amph.* 1127), Apollo (*Merc.* 678–80), Neptune (*Trin.* 837), and Venus (*Rud.* 698) are all personally prayed to in order to obtain their *pax*, support, and protection. Similarly, the negotiations between Sosia and Mercury (*Amph.* 388–95), and those imagined by Eutychus between his parents (*Merc.* 953: *meo patri cum matre*) are one-to-one. Beyond such individual attempts to secure the favour of various deities, the relationship between the Roman state and the gods was something the Romans, as a unified community, sought to maintain or, rather, achieve as a state of stability and security for the *res publica*, the people, and the army. In the early books of Livy, the *pax deorum* is sought in response to epidemics and pestilence, and in preparation for military engagement.⁵⁷ Concern is expressed at *pax* being unobtainable, or at least very difficult to obtain.⁵⁸

The aspects of life beyond mortal control are perceived, in late Republican thought, as being in the hands of the gods, and therefore so too must the possible chance of remedy be:

*summa etiam cum vis violenti per mare venti
induperatorum classis super aequora verrit
cum validis pariter legionibus atque elephantis,
non divom pacem votis adit ac prece quaesit
ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas,
nequiquam, quoniam violento turbine saepe
corruptus nilo fertur minus ad vada leti?*

(Lucret. 5.1226–32)

⁵⁵ Sordi (1985c) 147: 'mi induce ad avanzare l'ipotesi che *pax deum* sia addirittura all'origine del concetto romano di *pax*'.

⁵⁶ Plaut. *Poen.* 254: *quae ad deum pacem oportet adesse*. See also Lopez (2002) 99–100, n. 9.

⁵⁷ Pestilence: Livy 3.5.12; 3.8.1; 7.2.1–2; Ogilvie (1965) 403–4; Livy 6.1.12 for the 'double disaster' of the battles of Cremera and Alia on 18 July 390 BC, because the *pax deum* had not been achieved (*neque inventa pace deum*) by the military tribune Sulpicius. See Oakley (1997–2005) 1.398 for the date of Sulpicius' consular tribunate.

⁵⁸ Livy 27.23: *non impetrata pax deum*; 6.1.12: *neque inventa pace deum*.

When also the supreme violence of a furious wind upon the sea sweeps over the waters the chief admiral of a fleet along with his mighty legions and elephants, does he not crave the gods' peace with vows, does he not in his panic seek with prayers the peace of the winds and favouring breezes: all in vain, since none the less he is often caught up in the hurricane and driven upon the shoals of death.⁵⁹

Lucretius' presentation of the *pax deorum* and the circumstances and means by which man might go about trying to achieve it are treated as part of his digression on the folly of commonplace religious practices, which seek to appease the *ira* man ascribes to the gods (5.1195, *iras adiunxit acerbas!*), but which Lucretius himself asserts does not exist.⁶⁰ Lucretius' digression (5.1194–240) highlights the commonly held notions on the *pax* and *ira deorum*, and the importance of ritual for negotiating man's position in relation to the *deum immensa potestas* (5.1209). The need to negotiate with and conciliate the gods is seen by Cicero as an aspect of Roman priesthood.⁶¹ *Pax*, and with it *venia* ('forgiveness'), is perceived as the outcome of entreaties to the gods for the good of the state: 'I seek and I pray for peace and forgiveness (*pacem et veniam*) from Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the rest of the gods and goddesses, that they might allow that today shed light on the safety of this man and on the restoration of the Republic (*ad rem publicam constituendam*)'.⁶²

That the notion of the *pax deorum* provided a model for human relationships, particularly in terms of interstate relations, is most clearly demonstrated in Livy's account of Zeuxis' embassy to Scipio after the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC:

... ut a vobis quaeramus, Romani, quo piaculo expiare errorem regis, pacem veniamque impetrare a victoribus possimus. maximo semper animo victis regibus populisque ignovistis; quanto id maiore et placatiore animo decet vos facere in hac victoria, quae vos dominos orbis terrarum

⁵⁹ Rouse (1924).

⁶⁰ Lucret. 5.1194–240; Bailey (1947) 1512–20 for discussion of and commentary on Lucretius' digression. For the *ira deorum*, see Santangelo (2011) 168–70; Lucret. 2.651 for the incapability of anger or appeasement.

⁶¹ Cic. *Leg.* 2.30.3–31.2. The consuls, as chief magistrates, were also responsible for maintaining or promoting a conciliatory relationship with the gods: Pina Polo (2011); Sabbatucci (1988) 292 on the ritual means of achieving *pax deorum*.

⁶² Cic. *Rab. Post.* 2.5; see also *Nat. D.* 3.2.5; Livy 1.31.7; Verg. *G.* 4.534–6; Prop. 2.25.4; Ser. *Aen.* 1.519; Wagenvoort (1980) 176–7; Santangelo (2011) 162–8.

fecit? positis iam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus haud secus quam deos consulere et parcere vos generi humano oportet.

(Livy 37.45).

... we ask of you, Romans, through what offering we can expiate the mistake of our king, and obtain peace and forgiveness from you, the victors. Always with the greatest spirit you have given pardon to conquered kings and peoples; how much more great and more placatory ought you to be in this victory, which has made you masters of the world? You ought now to set aside fighting with all men and, like the gods, protect and spare the human race.

In Livy's presentation, Zeuxis directly equates the Romans' position to that of the gods in terms of power relations, from whom *pax* and *venia* are sought. *Pax*, in this respect, articulates not only the act and process of settlement between two parties, but also, moreover, the inequality of the relationship. This relationship of inequality pervades the notion of *pax*, and is clearly articulated in a scene from Plautus' *Amphitruo*, where the slave Sosia finds himself in conflict with Mercury (disguised as Sosia). The scene, which revolves around changing and overturning what is real (indeed, Mercury has already in the prologue stressed his role in turning tragedy into comedy and turning himself into Sosia), is not only a parody of conflict negotiation, but may also be read as a mock *pax deorum*.⁶³ At the start of the play Mercury introduces himself and declares that, as the mediator (*orator*), he comes both in peace and to offer it (*propterea pace advenio et pacem ad vos affero*),⁶⁴ although he later goes on to deliberately start a conflict with the slave. Sosia, unwittingly, attempts to engage the god Mercury in a contractual agreement (*pax*):

SOS: *opsecro ut per pacem liceat te alloqui, ut ne vapulem.*

MER: *immo indutiae parumper fiant, si quid vis loqui.*

SOS: *non loquar nisi pace facta, quando pugnis plus vales.*

MER: *dic si quid vis, non nocebo.*

.....

SOS: *pacem feci, foedus feci. vera dico.*

(Plaut. *Amph.* 388–95)

⁶³ The scene likewise moves from Sosia's first acknowledgement that he has not given thanks to the gods (Plaut. *Amph.* 180–4), to an entreaty to the gods at the end (455: *di immortales, opsecro vostram fidem*).

⁶⁴ Plaut. *Amph.* 32–4. Cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4.242: *Mercurius et orationis deus dicitur et interpres deorum*.

- SOS: Please allow me to speak to you in peace, without getting a thrashing.
- MER: Not in peace, but for a short time there can be a truce if you want to say anything.
- SOS: I won't speak unless peace has been made, since you have more strength in your fists.
- MER: Say what you want. I won't harm you.
-
- SOS: I've made peace with you. I've made an agreement. I'm telling the truth.⁶⁵

Here, Sosia seeks protection from the conflict and calls for peace, realized through a *foedus*. Both *pax* and a *foedus* represent the cessation of conflict. Mercury at first rejects the idea of peace, but allows for a truce or respite from conflict and fighting (*indutiae*); only *pax* can mark the proper termination point of conflict. The distinction between *indutiae* and *pax* is articulated also by authors of the late Republic and Empire, such as Livy and Gellius, whilst Varro qualifies his use of *pax* to define the specific, short-lived nature of *indutiae*: *sunt pax castrensis pacorum dierum*.⁶⁶ In this respect, *pax* was part of the ritual practice and vocabulary of war and conflict, as an agreement achieved between two warring parties.

In the passage from Plautus' *Amphitruo*, it is Sosia, the beset-upon party, who asks for *pax*, and emphasizes the supposed and assumed contractual nature of the relationship: *pacem feci, foedus feci*. Sosia claims that he himself has entered into an agreement, and he implies that Mercury has not held up his end of the bargain. The potential for such negotiations to result in a power imbalance in favour of the superior party is also seen at the conclusion of a mock battle in Petronius' *Satyricon* 107–9. This Neronian literary work offers

⁶⁵ de Melo (2011).

⁶⁶ Gell. NA 1.25: *nam neque pax est indutiae—bellum enim manet, pugna cessat* ('for a truce is not peace—for war still remains; only the fighting ceases'); Livy 10.5.12: *pax negata, indutiae biennii datae* ('peace was refused; a two-year truce was given'). A notable exception is Livy 7.20.8: *itaque pax populo Caeriti data indutiasque in centum annos factas in senatus consultum referri placuit* ('and so a peace with Caere was given, and it was decided that a truce made for 100 years was to be discussed in the senate'). Oakley (1997–2005) 2.208 notes the unusual nature of this formulation: 'L. normally writes that *pax* was denied but *indutiae* granted (see ix. 41.6–7 n.). Thus *pax* cannot be used here in a technical sense, but rather emphasizes the good will expressed by Rome towards Caere. Nevertheless, the offer of *indutiae* for a century was extraordinary, and L. doubtless considered it as good as *pax*.'

further insights into how the relationship between two opposing sides might be conceptualized as regards peace negotiation. A battle between the protagonist Encolpius, and Giton, and Eumolpus (on one side) and Lichas and Tryphaena (on the other) results in the helmsman calling on Tryphaena to seek a ceasefire (*indutiae*) and act as a 'herald of peace' (*caduceator*). Holding out an olive branch, as a means of establishing a bond of trust (*fides*), she gives a speech extolling the cessation of hostilities, which effects a peace (109: *revocataeque ad pacem manus intermisere bellum*). Whilst Tryphaena has been the one responsible for petitioning for peace, it is Eumolpus, who has previously been singled out as a *legatus*⁶⁷ for the protagonists and who is now the *dux*, who sets out terms of a treaty (*foedera*) entirely favourable to the side not treating for peace, binding Lichas and Tryphaena to restitution if they violate the treaty. The episode employs terminology found in accounts of actual diplomatic negotiations to comic effect,⁶⁸ and reflects not only the negotiation aspect of *pax*, but also the power dynamics between warring parties that could be expressed through the actual process of striking a treaty. That *pax* was an activity in which one side would seek peace, whilst the other would bestow or grant it, is also implicit in the transitive verb *pacare*, which articulates the agency involved in defining the relationship between the two sides.⁶⁹

In peace negotiations as presented by the literary sources of the late Republic and early Principate, the Romans conventionally take on the active role in the granting of peace, receiving embassies from their opponents sent to treat for peace, but rarely sending them.⁷⁰ When Rome was on the back foot, peace, even when offered, was not

⁶⁷ Pet. Sat. 107: *me, ut puto, hominem non ignotum, elegerunt ad hoc officium [legatum] ... deinde, si gratiam a legato moliebantur ...* ('I think that they chose me, as a known quantity, for this office [of envoy] ... Then, if they seek forgiveness through an envoy ...').

⁶⁸ Habermehl (2006) 423–64.

⁶⁹ Fröhleke (1982) notes that the authors of peace are normally the Romans, rarely other states. However, *pacare* is a relatively underused verb, and far less frequently used than other verbs relating to conquest. The past participle is used far more frequently than other forms of the verb: see Lavan (2017).

⁷⁰ Whilst the term *caduceator* ('herald [of peace]') has a limited use in Classical literature, it is notable that of the twenty-four instances (eleven times in Livy, four times in Curtius Rufus, once by Petronius, twice by Festus (once as a quotation of Cato the Elder), twice by Ammianus Marcellanus, twice by Arbonius, and four times by Servius in his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*), none refers to Roman *caduceatores*. The Romans preferred to receive heralds and peace embassies from their opponents rather than to send them themselves; see Cornwell (2015a). Of course, in the context

acceptable. In Livy's presentation, Rome's response to the disaster at Cannae was simply not to mention peace at all (*neque . . . ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos*, 22.61.13). Similarly, in his account of Rome's response to Perseus' offer of peace on very generous terms after they had lost the battle of Callicinus in 171 BC, Livy demonstrates Rome's claim to a position of superiority by demanding the king subject himself utterly to the will of the senate.⁷¹ In such negotiations, Rome adopts the position of the victors, who imposed conditions on the conquered comparable to the first model of *foedera* outlined by the envoy of King Antiochus, in Livy's account of negotiations between Syria and Rome in 193 BC. All three models are understood as the means through which states reach some form of agreement with each other: the first being that those defeated in war submit to the arbitration of the victors; the second being an agreement of parity resulting in *pax et amicitia*; the final type of treaty involves no prior hostilities, resulting in alliance.⁷² In the context of the episode, the king's envoy seeks the third kind, citing the *amicitia* between Rome and Antiochus, as opposed to the *pax* that had been established with Philip, who had been considered a *hostis*. Flamininus uses the argument of Greek autonomy (notably an essential condition of the *Κοινὴ Εἰρήνη*)⁷³ to justify Rome's rejection of agreement with Antiochus. The Roman commander effectively uses the argument that Antiochus' actions deny the idea of Greek freedom, whilst Rome's actions promote it, in order to force the envoys into backing down from their demands of a *sociale foedus*. Despite the acknowledgement of *foedera aequa*, such treaties are few in Rome's history and relate to Rome's early military position in central Italy.⁷⁴ The late Republican/early Augustan presentations of Rome's peace negotiations in the mid- to late Republic illustrate that Rome's attitude was perceived as being directed from a position of superiority, from which Rome could impose conditions on her subjects, despite the idea of *pax* achieved through parity, as expressed in the second type of *foedera*.⁷⁵ The negotiations of *pax* reveal the power dynamics of such interactions.

of civil conflict and war this model is overturned. See also Chapter 2, in the section 'Shifts in Political Language'.

⁷¹ Livy. 42.62.

⁷² Livy 34.57.7–9; Valvo (1985) 156–67; Rich (2008) 51–65; Kantor (2013).

⁷³ Ryder (1965) 1. ⁷⁴ Rich (2008).

⁷⁵ Valvo (1985) 159–67. The idea of *pax* and *amicitia* being made between equal parties is promoted by Caesar *BCiv.* 3.10, though his argument must be understood

Pax was imposed (or in the very least granted) by the Romans on their opponents, and bound the defeated in a contractual relationship with Rome.⁷⁶ Both Varro and Gellius record the story of Rome sending a letter to Carthage in 218 BC, telling them to choose between *pax* and *bellum* (symbolized by the caduceus and spear respectively).⁷⁷ The story illustrates that even when *pax* was being offered as an alternative to war (as opposed to a result of it), Rome desired to be offering it from a position of control. However, Gellius' account also illustrates, through the Carthaginians' refusal to choose either option (and thus their rejection of agency in the decision), that they were equals and rivals to Rome.⁷⁸ Even with the absence or removal of war, imposing a treaty or pact was a sign of strength and authority; to accept defeat signalled weakness.

Such a conceptualization of how and when *pax* should be negotiated and given must lie behind the story of Rome's rejection of the *sponsio* ('oath, promise') that Postumius had made with the Samnites in 321 BC. Rome, according to Livy's account in Book nine of his *History of Rome*, forced the Samnites to re-enter the conflict,⁷⁹ in order to ensure a Roman victory and force the Samnites to send *legati de pace* to Rome (9.45.1). In fact, Rome's refusal to ratify the *sponsio* or accept peace with the Samnites is most likely a later second-century BC retelling of events in order to create a precedent to pass off the *foedus*, made by Hostilius Mancinus with the Numantines in 137/6 BC, as a *sponsio*, which could be refused.⁸⁰ If nothing else, Livy's account of the Caudine Forks reflects the political concerns of the late Republic and early Augustan period, and the idea that *pax* was part of Rome's language of dominance. As Rosenstein has articulated, 'peace

within the context of the work, and the purpose of his argument will be discussed in Chapter 2, in the section 'Possibilities of Negotiating Peace'.

⁷⁶ Fuchs (1926) 184–6, 193–205; Raaflaub (2007) 13; Rosenstein (2007) 236–40; Rich (2008). *Pax* may be understood in such contexts as a kind of enforced *amicitia*; by contrast *concordia* is defined by Akar (2013) 98–101, 446–8, as an ideal of relations between equals.

⁷⁷ Gell. NA 10.27.3–5.

⁷⁸ See also Livy 21.19, and Polyb. 3.206–8, who emphasizes the negative aspects of either option for the Carthaginians.

⁷⁹ The renewal of hostilities was achieved through a kind of deception on Postumius' part. As he is led before the Samnites by a Roman fetial, he struck the priest in the groin, whilst loudly declaring that he himself was a Samnite, thus laying the violation of the Roman priest at the feet of the Samnites: Livy 9.10.

⁸⁰ De Sanctis (1907) II: 312–14; Crawford (1973); Valvo (1985) 172.

not only beyond its boundaries but also within the empire's confines depended ultimately on the perception of Rome's military might'.⁸¹ Livy, more than once, equates the idea of *pax* achieved for Rome as the subjugation and conquest of neighbouring peoples.⁸²

In such contexts, *pax* might be understood as 'pacification', emphasizing the military superiority of Rome, as displays such as the ara Pacis might suggest.⁸³ However, as Miles Lavan has recently stressed, the ambiguities in the terminology of *pax*, most notably the cognate verb *pacare* and the past participle/adjective *pacatus*, enable the concept to be palatable and desirable to both sides. Whilst *pacatus*, -a, -um is usually understood as 'pacified', the relationship it implicitly expresses did not necessarily have to be one of aggressive subjugation. *Pacatus* was used to describe the status of those who were non-Romans and non-hostile. Roman augurs had, Varro explains, five categories for territory: 'Roman', 'of Gabii', 'foreign' (*peregrinus*), 'hostile' (*hosticus*), and 'unclear' (*incertus*). 'Foreign' territory was that which was not categorized as belonging to Rome or Gabii, but was *pacatus*, distinct from that which was *hosticus*.⁸⁴ In a similar fashion, Cicero marks a distinction between one who is *pacatus* and one who is *hostis* (*Rep.* 2.6). Whilst a foreigner's relationship with

⁸¹ Rosenstein (2007) 228; see also Harris (1979) 35; Parchami (2009) 15–17.

⁸² Livy 1.19.2: [*Ianus*] *clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret* ('the closing [of *Ianus*] signified that all the surrounding peoples had been brought to peace'); 2.49.2: *populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse* ('as the Roman people secured a tranquil peace, all the neighbouring peoples could be subjugated').

⁸³ Syme (1989) 116; DeBrohun (2007) 257.

⁸⁴ Varro *Ling.* 5.5.33: *ut nostri augures publici disserunt, agrorum sunt genera quinque: Romanus, Gabinus, peregrinus, hosticus, incertus. Romanus dictus unde Roma ab Romulo; Gabinus ab oppido Gabiis; peregrinus ager pacatus, qui extra Romanum et Gabinum, quod uno modo in his servantur auspicia; dictus peregrinus a pergendo, id est a progrediendo: eo enim ex agro Romano primum progrediebantur: quocirca Gabinus quoque peregrinus, sed quod auspicia habet singularia, ab reliquo discretus; hosticus dictus ab hostibus; incertus is, qui de his quattuor qui sit ignoratur* ('As our public augurs set out, there are five categories of territory: 'Roman' 'of Gabii', 'foreign', 'hostile', 'uncertain'. The category *Romanus* is named from Romulus, from whom Rome received its name. *Gabinus* from the town of Gabii. The category *peregrinus* defines a territory brought to peace, which is categorized as separate from the categories *Romanus* and *Gabinus*, because the auspices are observed in the same way in both these areas. The category *peregrinus* derives from *pergendum* ('going'), that is to say from *progrediendum* ('advancing'): for into this territory the first advance from Roman territory was made; on this account the category *Gabinus* is also [technically] *peregrinus*, but because it has its own auspices it is distinct from the rest. The category *hosticus* derives from *hostis*. The category *incertus* is whatever might be unfamiliar from among these four other categories').

Rome could be described in terms of peace, that of the enemy (*hostis*) was characterized in relation to war and conflict (of course, a *hostis* could become *pacatus* should they submit to Rome). War (*bellum*) and peace (*pax*) were part of the language through which one described the enemies and subjects of the *res publica*. This lent a degree of flexibility to how Romans described their relations with other peoples and ultimately how 'subject' states themselves might describe their relations with Rome.⁸⁵

What this discussion on the notion of *pax* in Roman thought has demonstrated is that it is at root a bilateral agreement, achieved and maintained through negotiations and conflict resolution in which one party (usually the weaker) sought peace from the other (usually superior), which then gives the notion strong unilateral tones. This dynamic notion of peace was a part of formal diplomatic, as well as religious, rituals but it was also pervasive enough in Roman thought to describe informal, interpersonal and domestic relations as well: Plautus' Eutychus seeks to negotiate a peace *meo patri cum matre* (*Merc.* 953) after his parents have fallen out over another woman (the mistress of another man), whom his father had purchased and brought home.⁸⁶ The colloquial uses of *pax* between individuals in the comedies of Plautus imply that the term was a familiar enough concept in Roman thought by the beginning of the second century BC. The role of *pax*, within the rhetoric of war and peace, as part of the language used to articulate the position of Rome's enemies and subjects, as well as the flexibility of the term to also include interpersonal relations allows some insight as to how *pax* would become applied to relations between Romans in civil war, coming to occupy both the sphere of *militiae* and that of *domi*.

This section has strongly emphasized the role of *pax* in the language of negotiation. As Chapter 2 will highlight, this was a vital element in the use and manipulation of the term during the civil conflicts of the final decades of the Republic. However, *pax*, as an element of the Republican vocabulary of *imperium militiae*, was

⁸⁵ Lavan (2017); an inscription set up by the province of Baetica in the forum Augustum, which describes the province as *pacata est*, is discussed in Chapter 4, in the section 'The Perpetuation of Peace'.

⁸⁶ Similarly, Sosia asks Jupiter (in the guise of Amphytrion) and Alcmena *iam pax est inter vos duos . . . iam vos redistis in concordiam?* (Plaut. *Amph.* 957, 962). See also Plaut. *Stich.* 519 for *pax commerxque* as happy relations established between friends.

also used to express and justify Roman *imperium* as the territorial expansion of power.⁸⁷ As early as 58 BC there are indications of this application of *pax*: [*re publica/pulcer*]rume adm[i]nistrata imperio am[pli]ficato [p]ace per orb[em] terrarum confecta].⁸⁸ This singular extract of the *lex Gabinia Calpurnia* from the island of Delos, closely ties Roman *imperium* to the achievement of *pax* over the world, as opposed to necessarily negotiated with a second party. The use of the ablative absolutes serves to tie the peace, brought to the *orbis terrarum*, to Rome's management of empire (the peace must allude to Pompey's eradication of piracy under the *lex Gabinia* of 67, and his successful reorganization of the eastern Mediterranean at the conclusion of the Mithridatic war). The usage of *pax* in the *lex Gabinia* indicates that there was an awareness of how, with the expansion of *imperium* (as the power of Rome), the application of *pax* might be redefined.⁸⁹ Contained in the phrase *pax per orbem terrarum confecta* is the idea that Rome's imperial position was such that there was no need for *pax* necessarily to be an expression of negotiation and a pact, but rather of Rome's ability to procure stability for, and to oversee the administration of, the entirety of the Mediterranean. This concept would be revisited under Augustus, and become a central tenet of his ideology. Whilst the *lex Gabinia* appears as a singular instance of late Republican explicit associations of *pax* with imperialism, it gives a small insight into how the development of Rome's position within the Mediterranean provided conditions within which Rome's attitude to how to express their hegemony was being explored through the language of peace.⁹⁰

THE VISUAL LANGUAGE OF PAX

Pax was a well-established part of the vocabulary of Rome's *imperium militiae* and had a causal relationship with *bellum* (and likewise with *victoria*) as the means of conflict resolution, whilst at the same time

⁸⁷ Richardson (1991).

⁸⁸ *CIL* I² 2500; Nicolet et al. (1980); Moreau (1982) 100.

⁸⁹ Richardson (2008) 104 on the meaning of *imperium* in the *lex Gabinia*.

⁹⁰ Moreau (1982) 93: 'la paix victorieuse'; see also Nicolet et al. (1980) 73–6.

allowing Rome to articulate her superior position in interstate relations. Nevertheless, *pax* was also a distinct and separate activity from war, even offered up as an alternative. In Varro's and Gellius' accounts of the diplomatic exchange between Rome and Carthage in 218 BC there is a clear articulation between the two separate activities of *bellum* and *pax*: 'the Roman people sent to [the Carthaginians] a spear (*hasta*) and a herald's staff (*caduceus*), the two signs of war (*bellum*) and peace (*pax*), from which they could choose whichever they wanted'.⁹¹ At least by the late Republican period the herald's staff (*caduceum*; *caduceus*)⁹² symbolized the position of the herald as a negotiator of peace, and according to Livy, is the reason why envoys of peace were called *caduceatores*.⁹³ It also signified the *pax* established at the cessation of conflict. A brief overview of the symbol of the caduceus in material culture (particularly the numismatic field) will help to establish the visual expression and engagement with the concept of *pax* and how it developed over the Republic.⁹⁴

Whilst the literary sources of the late Republic indicate that there was a visual marker for *pax*, besides the use of the caduceus, the concept appears to have received little physical representation during the mid- and late Republic. It is notable that at Rome *pax* most likely did not receive a cult until the ara Pacis Augustae.⁹⁵ It was rather the concepts with strong associations to internal stability, such as *salus*, *concordia*, and *fides*, that received temples and commemorations, along with celebrations of victories and deities and qualities explicitly

⁹¹ Gell. NA 10.27.3: *populum Romanum misisse ad eos hastam et caduceum, signa duo belli aut pacis, ex quibus, utrum vellent, eligerent*. Gell. NA. 10.27.5 records that in Varro's account of the embassy two tiles with the *simulacra* of a spear and caduceus were sent, rather than the actual items. Varro himself uses the phrase '*signa pacis ac belli*' (Rust. 3.16).

⁹² See L&S s.v. *caduceum* for the uncertainty as to the predominant form of the noun in the classical period.

⁹³ Sev. Aen. 4.242 cites Livy as his authority for the name *caduceatores*, and himself argues that the snakes on the staff signify mediation; see also Non. 528M for the caduceus as the symbol of *pax*. For the sacrosanctity of heralds and embassies, see Paul. ex Fest. 41; Cic. De or. 1.202; Dig. 1.8.8.1; Curtius Rufus conceptualizes a *ius gentium* under which messengers were deemed sacrosanct (Curt. 4.1.15; 4.2.17); see also Simon (1988) 70–2; Cornwell (2015a).

⁹⁴ See Belloni (1985); Ferrero (2005) for the iconography of both Eirene and Pax.

⁹⁵ Clark (2007) 9. For a cult of Pax under Caesar, see Weinstock (1960) 46–7; Heatley (1976) 17–20; Clark (2007) 8 n. 15, 105–6. Tib. 1.10.67–8 (published between late 27/26 BC) does appear to evoke Pax as a deity; see also Lee-Stecum (1998) 277–85.

associated with military strength.⁹⁶ It would only be with the politicization of *pax* in the final decades of the Republic that the concept would be personified at Rome. The caduceus stands out as one of the few visual symbols used to convey the ideal of *pax* in external communications of the Roman state, as the negotiations with the Carthaginians imply.

The caduceus (or *κηρύκειον*/kerykeion in Greek) was a familiar symbol on numismatic fields in the Mediterranean world, appearing from the fifth century onwards on coinage of the Greek city states, including in Magna Graecia, as well as on the third-century coinage of the Etruscan community of Populonia,⁹⁷ and Punic coinage of the fourth to second centuries.⁹⁸ Whilst it appears on Roman coinage from as early as the first quarter of the third century BC, its meaning was not necessarily or strictly bound to the specific notion of *pax* in opposition to war, but rather the wider considerations of negotiation and exchange. An attribute of Hermes/Mercury in Greek and Roman art,⁹⁹ the kerykeion/caduceus could be understood as representing ideas of communication, negotiation, and also commerce.¹⁰⁰ The idea of exchange and commerce might explain the presence of the caduceus on the early *aes grave*, where the caduceus appears on the reverse of a sextans whilst a scallop shell is on the obverse (280–276 BC).¹⁰¹ Such ideas might also have been included in a coin of C. Norbanus

⁹⁶ Temples celebrating military strength and virtues: Mars (390 BC), Victoria (305 BC), Bellona (296 BC), Iuppiter Victor (295 BC), Iuppiter Stator (294 BC), Fors Fortuna (293 BC), Hercules Invictus (292–269/6 BC), Honos (233 BC), Honos et Virtus (222 BC); temples associated with the safety of the state: Salus (311 BC), Concordia (304 BC), Fides (258/7 or 254–49 BC); Fortuna Publica (241 BC); Fortuna Publica (240–19 BC). See Ziolkowski (1992) 14–189. See Akar (2013) 16–28 on the issue of the construction of *aedes* and temples to Concordia; see also Raaflaub (2011) 326–7 for the prominence of *concordia* over *pax*.

⁹⁷ *Historia Numorum Italy* 150, 189, 190. The precise meaning of the caduceus on the coinage of Populonia is unclear.

⁹⁸ Acquaro (2002) nos. 133, 135–6, 173, 304–5, 474, 480–2. See Moore (2011) for the distinction between the caduceus as a Punic symbol and as a Graeco-Roman symbol.

⁹⁹ Hermes: *LIMC* V.1 285–387, esp. 381–3 on the language of the caduceus. Mercury: *LIMC* VI.1 500–54, esp. 500–1, 534–7; *RRC* 134, 142, 145, 149, 179, 180, 199, 214, 239–45, 247–335, 362, 472, 480. Hermes carrying the kerykeion also appears on Sicilian-Punic coinage: Solus c.406–397 BC (Jenkins (1971) pl. 23, 17).

¹⁰⁰ *RE* 11. 332, 340–2 on the kerykeion/caduceus as a symbol of commerce.

¹⁰¹ *RRC* 14/5. The caduceus was a clear and persistent attribute of Mercury on the bronze coinage since the first decade of the second century: see *RRC* 134/6, 142/5, 145/5, 149/5a, 179/5, 199/6a–b, 214/6, 239/4, 240/5, 241/5–6, 243/5, 244/4, 251/4, 262/5, 285/6, 334/5, 335/8b, 348/6.

from 83 BC, which depicts on the reverse a prow stem, fasces with axe, caduceus, and ear of corn.¹⁰² The fasces and prow signify *imperium* by land and sea (Norbanus' father was consul that year), whilst the ear of corn and caduceus may plausibly signify the bounty achieved through Roman *imperium*.¹⁰³ Yet beyond the idea of commerce, the presence of the caduceus on Norbanus' coinage might also imply wider concerns of *imperium* and militarism.

The kerykeion, as an emblem of a messenger, appears to have had particular use in contexts of war and conflict: Thucydides (1.53) emphasizes that the Corinthians sent an embassy to the Athenian fleet *ἀνευ κηρυκείου* (i.e. 'without a flag of truce'¹⁰⁴) to discuss their intervention in the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra. The implication is that the use of a kerykeion would have signified their acceptance of war. In Herodotus' account of the Greek army preparing to fight the Persians at Mycale, the proof of the rumour (*φήμη*) of the Greek victory at Plataea is signified by the discovery of a kerykeion found lying on the beach (9.100).¹⁰⁵ Notably, on Greek coinage, the kerykeion was not only the attribute of Hermes, but also of Nike. Late fifth-century coins from Caria and from Terina, in Italy, depict Nike with a wreath and carrying the herald's staff.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore on a fifth-century Greek krater (475–425 BC) the horses drawing Nike's chariot are branded with a kerykeion.¹⁰⁷ The use of the kerykeion by envoys during war then signified the acceptance of the terms of war, whilst receipt of the staff could also indicate the victorious side. In this context of the kerykeion as an attribute of Nike, it is striking that an early fourth-century coin from Locri depicts not Nike, but *ΕΙΡΗΝΑ ΔΟΚΡΩΝ* holding the kerykeion. As far as I am aware, this is the

¹⁰² RRC 357/1a. RRC 357/1b does not include the prow stem. The obverse of both coins depicts the diademed head of Venus.

¹⁰³ Crawford (1974) 372 and 732 sees the caduceus as a symbol of Felicitas, following RE 6. 2165–6; see also Fears (1981b) 878–9.

¹⁰⁴ Hornblower (1991) 96.

¹⁰⁵ Flower and Marincola (2002) 276–8 suggest the wand is that of *Φήμη* herself.

¹⁰⁶ Jenkins (1972) 224 (Caria); 462 (Terina); *Historia Numorum Italy* 193–6 (Terina). Nike also appears associated with the kerykeion on late fifth-century coinage from Sicily (SNG ANS 38; BMC Sicily 56), and late fourth-century Macedonian coinage (cf. SNG Copenhagen 644). That the kerykeion held particular significance in southern Italy and Sicily is perhaps attested by the fact that the majority of actual extant kerykeia come from these areas: see Knauer (1992) 389 n. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Beazley Archive 44990, San Antonio (TX), Art Museum: 86.134; Knauer (1992).

only instance of the kerykeion being carried by 'Peace', rather than by 'Victory' in Greek coinage, and may represent a peculiarity of the Locrian community amongst Greek cities.¹⁰⁸

The kerykeion, then, can be seen to signify not only diplomacy in war, but also the outcome of conflict—be that expressed in victorious or peaceful terms. The caduceus on Roman coinage likewise appears to signify the outcome of war, and the cessation of conflict, as a coin minted in c.70 BC commemorating the unification of Italy and Rome illustrates. On the reverse Italia holds a cornucopia with a winged caduceus to her left, and joins hands in agreement with, and loyalty to, Roma (*fides*), who holds the fasces,¹⁰⁹ and places her foot on a globe (Fig. 1.1).¹¹⁰ Whilst the coin demonstrates the unification of Italy and Rome, it also alludes to the military might of Rome, and Italy's acquiescence to her after the social war. Symbols of peace and *imperium* are combined in a similar fashion on the coin of Norbanus already discussed.

The caduceus expressed the notion of negotiation and diplomacy, though in the context of war and conflict, and indeed it continued to be associated with victory,¹¹¹ in a similar fashion to the kerykeion on Greek coinage. A coin minted by Sulla on the move in 82 BC depicts him as *imperator* driving a quadriga and holding a caduceus whilst

¹⁰⁸ *Historia Numorum Italy* 179. Fuda (1980) 107 sees the depiction of Eirene on the coin as 'typologically dependent' on the series from Terina, depicting Nike seated on a cippus, who notably (although Fuda does not mention this; see rather Kraay (1984) 188–9, 197) also carries a kerykeion. The coin has, on stylistic grounds, traditionally been dated to c.350 BC, whilst Fuda (1980) 102–8 argues on historical grounds that the coin could plausibly be dated to between 422–400 BC, to commemorate Locri's inclusion into the peace of Gela. However, Kraay (1984) 197 argues that if the Locrian Eirene was, like the Nike of Terina on which it appears to be modelled, a city deity, the coinage should not be later than c.375; see also Kraay and Hirmer (1966) 313. Nevertheless, there appears a tendency in Locri's coinage to commemorate ideas of alliances and treaties; in c.275–270 BC, Locri's (re)submission to Rome after her desertion in 280 BC was commemorated on a coin depicting ΠΙΣΤΙΣ crowning ΠΩΜΑ, who sits on a pile of spoils and carries a parazonium under her arm: *BMC Italy* 365, no. 15. See also Simon (1988) 67; Belloni (1985) 132.

¹⁰⁹ Crawford (1974) 413 for the identification of the fasces; Sydenham 797 and *BMCRR* 3358–63 classify the object as a spear.

¹¹⁰ *RRC* 403/1. Weinstock (1960) 45 has suggested that the coin may indicate that *pax* was being used as a political slogan. If it was, it was a message of agreement that prevailed; see Fears (1981b) 883.

¹¹¹ Crawford (1974) 718 links the early depiction of the caduceus along with a trident (both bound with fillets) on the *aes grave* (c.280–260 BC) as alluding to naval success in the first Punic war.



Fig. 1.1 Coin of 70 BC minted by Q. Fufius Calenus and Mucius Cordus at Rome, representing the unification of Italy and Rome after the social war. On the obverse are the busts of *HO(nos)* and *VIRT(us)*, and on the reverse, *ITAL(ia)*, holding a cornucopia and joining hands with *RO(ma)*, who carries a sceptre and places her foot on a globe. A winged caduceus is in the field to the left of Italia, and the legend *CORDI* below the field (RRC 403/1).

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being crowned by Victory (Fig. 1.2). This suggests that the caduceus was an attribute of the victor.¹¹² Likewise, in 48 BC, L. Hostilius Saserna minted coins celebrating Caesar's victories in Gaul, depicting a Victory holding a trophy and caduceus.¹¹³ It is also worth bearing in mind that this use of the caduceus may be understood as signifying *felicitas*, particularly in relation to Sullan iconography—Sulla himself took on the additional cognomen *Felix* (Plut. *Sull.* 34.3)—which brought with it *pax* and *concordia*.¹¹⁴ Indeed, whilst the caduceus was not explicitly linked to *Felicitas* on the coins until the time of Galba (*RIC I*² Galba 411–12), it may implicitly refer to success in both commerce and war, particularly as it is presented as an attribute of the *triumphator* (in the case of Sulla) and Victory (in the case of Caesar).¹¹⁵ In the context of external relations, such as negotiations

¹¹² RRC 367. Crawford (1974) 387 argues that the caduceus 'may be taken to indicate that victory is hoped for rather than achieved'.

¹¹³ RRC 448.

¹¹⁴ Fears (1981b) 878–80; Thein (2009); see also Sumi (2002) 414–21 on Sulla's displays of his *felicitas*. Whilst the caduceus is not mentioned, Sulla's triumphal displays formed an important part of showing himself as *Felix*. Sumi (2002) 431 further highlights the possibility that Sulla's programme of *felicitas*, *salus rerum*, and *concordia* were a 'tableau of images that would later help form a conceptualization of peace'.

¹¹⁵ See Clark (2007) 142, n. 71 on the impossibility (based on the coinage) of knowing whether or not the caduceus was only established as an attribute of *Felicitas* in the imperial period.



Fig. 1.2 Coin of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, minted in Italy in 82 BC. The obverse depicts the helmeted head of Roma, whilst the reverse depicts Sulla as *triumphator* in a quadriga, carrying a caduceus and being crowned by a Victory (RRC 367/3).

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with the Carthaginians, the caduceus could symbolize peace as a state describing the non-hostile relations between people (*fides pacis*); at Rome, in the context of the triumph or other such displays of victory, as the coinage indicates, it came to represent the success and good fortune achieved on behalf of the state. As with other attributes, the caduceus was not restricted to one concept alone, but represented a group of ideals that were, if not interchangeable, interrelated.

Despite the presence of the caduceus on late Republican coinage, the personification of Pax only appears in the mid-40s. This marks an essential change to, or rather additional usage of, the word, for we are now no longer just dealing with the word and concept designated by *pax*. Now the idea has become linked to a physical, female form, making it possible to talk also about Pax.¹¹⁶ Whether or not the appearance of Pax (identified through the legend PAXS) on the coinage of 44 BC should be understood as evidence for a cult is less clear; nevertheless, Pax had now joined a collection of concepts which appeared personified on the coinage at times of political relevancy.¹¹⁷ The introduction or perhaps reassertion of certain concepts into the political landscape at Rome can be linked to moments when the term

¹¹⁶ See Clark (2007) 20–8; Fears (1981b) 845, 69.

¹¹⁷ On the appearance of such qualities on Republican coinage, see Clark (2007) 137–61; see also Hölscher (1980) 279–80, 297–309. The majority of concepts that were personified on the coinage did receive cult at Rome: Clark (2007) 29–72; see also n. 96. See Chapter 2, Fig. 2.1 for PAXS on the coinage in 44 BC.

was politically expedient and its relevance to the political debate was articulated through visual markers, such as coinage and shrines. The first explicit personification of Concordia on coins in the mid 60s reveals the political relevance of the term; similarly, Clodius' construction of a shrine to Libertas on the site of Cicero's Palatine house was an important part of his political battle against his opponent. The appearance of Pax on the coinage of 44 suggests the political relevance of the concept, and indeed the caduceus starts to appear with growing frequency on the coins of the early 40s BC onwards, reflecting the growing concern for the ideas it represented within the political discourse of the civil wars.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAX

The discussion so far has served to contextualize the traditional and conventional usage and understanding of *pax* within Roman thought of the Republic. Whilst *pax* had no cult or personification at Rome in the mid- and late Republic, the literary evidence indicates that it was an integral aspect of religious ritual and formed an important part of Rome's interactions with other states, although the more explicit visible markers and memorials of such interactions were the victory monuments and triumphs Rome celebrated in the wake of the establishment of a peace.

The usage of the term in the literary evidence of the mid- and late Republic indicates that there existed a unity of concept across the spheres of religion, international relations, and personal relations. *Pax* was conceived of as articulating the relationship between two social groups, seen as being in some form of conflict: be those the divine and mortal, the state and other polities, or between private individuals. Nevertheless, as the example of the *lex Gabinia* illustrates, malleability and redefinition of *pax*, dependent on the context of discourse, were already a possibility due to Rome's growing imperial presence.

Ideological developments of the concept of peace mirror, or rather are in symbiosis with, sociopolitical changes that occurred as the political structures of the Republican state began to change and, ultimately, break down. Since *pax* was traditionally a means of defining relations of power, and also of articulating the stability of such

relations, it is perhaps not a difficult leap to see how, during a period of intense political, social, and cultural change and transition, the usage and interpretation of the concept itself might change or be confronted, as it was applied to different contexts and situations.¹¹⁸

The plurality of positions that Woolf suggests existed on the nature of imperialism and 'Roman peace' under the Empire is just as much true for the period of civil war. Not only was *pax* politicized during the civil wars of the late Republic, but it also became a central tenet of the new political order, as a means of expressing political control and state security.

¹¹⁸ Farr (1989) 31: 'there is a general temptation to understand conceptual change as a *reflection* of political change . . . Besides the metaphorical (if not metaphysical) howler involved in reflection imagery—as if the world does it with mirrors—political change cannot be isolated in a conceptually uncontaminated way so that conceptual change could then be said to be its reflection. To understand political change is in large part to understand conceptual change, and vice versa.'

Peace in Civil War

*teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit,
 Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses.
 te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
 inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
 ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit
 permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis
 pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.*

(Verg. *Ecl.*4.11–17)

When you, Pollio, are consul, then this your glorious age will begin and the great months will start to move forward. With your leadership, if any traces of our guilt remain, once erased, they will release the earth from eternal dread. He will receive the life of the gods, he will see heroes mixing with the divine and he himself will be seen by them, and he will rule, with his father's excellence, the world brought to peace.

The dramatic context for Virgil's poetic idealism of a world released from the terror of civil war (*sceleris . . . nostri*) is presented as Asinius Pollio's anticipated consulship of 40 BC. Whether the poem implicitly refers to the Treaty of Brundisium, negotiated in September/October of that year by Pollio, Maecenas, and Cocceius, or was a product of the earlier uncertainty of 41, it was nevertheless shaped by the socio-political climate of the late 40s, of which the land confiscations (41 BC) notably resonate in *Eclogues* 1 and 9.¹ In the wake of the siege of Perusia (begun in summer 41), Virgil's idyll of a peaceful world

¹ Clausen (1994) 119–22 for allusion to Brundisium and the hope of lasting peace; also Boyle (1976) 4–5; 111; Pelling (1996) 19 for a composition date of late 41; see Coleman (1977) 15 for the issues over the composition and/or publication date.

without war (*pacatumque . . . orbem*) looks to an end of conflict.² Certainly, by 39 a flurry of enthusiasm for reconciliation, agreement, and peace abounded in the coinage: both Antony and Octavian issued coins with themselves on the obverse and the other on the reverse, whilst issues depicting the union between Antony and Octavia were also minted on Antony's side, and on Octavian's side issues appeared alternating his and Antony's portraits on the obverse with the winged caduceus on the reverse, and a female personification (usually identified as Concordia) on the obverse, and the joined hands of *fides* clasped around the caduceus on the reverse.³ The celebration of Brundisium was not just promoted by the central political figures, and evidence of a dedication of a monument to Concordia in October 40 at the newly founded colony of Casinum, demonstrates the concern for peace at a more local level within Italy.⁴

Whilst such optimism was ultimately short-lived—indeed, Horace's account of his journey to Brundisium in *Satire* 1.5 understatedly hints at the continued attempts to bring about an accord of *amicitia* (1.5.29: *legati, aversos soliti componere amicos*)⁵—this should not detract from the powerful sway that the idea of peace held in 40. Nowhere was the achievement of peace more emphatically articulated than within the

² Clausen (1994) 122 draws out an allusion to Hercules in ll. 15–17, stressing that *pacare* was used in special reference to his labours, which pacified (or brought peace to?) the world; cf. Ov. *Her.* 9.13; Prop. 3.11.19. Such allusions, Clausen stresses, must refer to Antony, and he sees his marriage to Octavia solemnizing the Treaty of Brundisium (at which Pollio was, it is traditionally thought, Antony's agent; however, see Bosworth (1972) 472) as the source of the divine child yet to come. Much depends on a composition date in late 40 (see n. 1), though the idea of a Herculean labour of restoring the Golden Age as one of the allusions intended is highly plausible. As discussed in Chapter 1, in the section 'Pax in the Landscape of the Republic', *pacatus* was an ambiguous and flexible term encompassing both ideas of pacification and of being at peace: see Lavan (2017). As Pulbrook (1982) 28 stresses, the idealism of *Eclogues* 4 and 5 is temporary, and Virgil returns to a pessimistic reality in 9 and 10.

³ Issued by Antony: Antony and Octavian (RRC 528); Antony and Octavia (RRC 527). Issued by Octavian: Octavian and Antony (RRC 529/1); Octavian and the caduceus (RRC 529/2); Antony and the caduceus (RRC 529/3); female bust and the hand of *fides* around the caduceus (RRC 529/4).

⁴ CIL X. 5159 = ILS 3784 = ILLRP 562a = AE 2008, 294: *M(arcus) Papius M(arci) f(ilius) L(ucius) Matrius L(uci) f(ilius) / duoviri i(ure) d(icundo) / signum Concordiae ex c(onscriptorum) c(onsulto) restituendum / coeaverunt eidemq(ue) dedicarunt / et basim gradum aram sua pecunia / faciunda coe(averunt) eidemq(ue) probaver(unt) / a(nte) d(iem) IIII Eid(us) Oct(obres) Cn(aeo) Domit(io) C(aio) Asinio co(n)s(ulibus)*; see Coarelli (2007) 40; Osgood (2006) 193.

⁵ Gowers (2012) 182–3 on the possibly different historical settings for the poem, and alternatively as a conflation of these.

traditional ritual for the celebration of victory and display of power: the Roman triumph.⁶

The entries in the *Fasti Triumphales*—the list of Roman triumphal celebrations from Romulus over the Caeninenses in 753 BC down to L. Cornelius Balbus over Africa in 19 BC—for the ceremonies of 40 are striking amidst the long account of conquest and victories over peoples and places:

Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius) C(ai) f(ilius) IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) ov[ans, an(no) DCCXIII] / quod pacem cum M(arco) Antonio fecit, [—]

M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) f(ilius) M(arci) n(epos) IIIvir r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae) ovan[s, an(no) DCCXIII] / quod pacem cum Imp(era-tore) Caesare feci[t,—]. (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.87, frag. XL)

Imperator Caesar, son of a god, son of Gaius, triumvir for the restoration of the *res publica* celebrated an ovation, in 40 BC, because he made peace with Marcus Antonius.

Marcus Antonius, son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, triumvir for the restoration of the *res publica* celebrated an ovation, in 40 BC, because he made peace with Imperator Caesar.

The inscription itself forms part of a later Augustan monument, which postdates 19 BC (discussed in Chapter 4, in the section ‘The Parthian Arch’), and even the entries as they stand may have been slightly modified after the initial award, given Syme’s dating of 38 BC for the adoption of the praenomen *Imperator* by Octavian.⁷ Whilst the particular history of the triumph, as presented in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*, is in many respects the product of a very different world from that of the 40s, the unique justification for the twin celebrations after the Treaty of Brundisium is apparent and offers insight into the value placed on the articulation and display of reconciliation and peace as an achievement between two Romans.⁸

⁶ On the triumph: *Neue Pauly* 12.2. 836–46; Ehlers (1939); Versnel (1970); Eder (2002); Sumi (2005) 29–35; Beard (2007); Bastien (2007); Östenberg (2009a); Armstrong (2013); Lange and Vervaeke (2014).

⁷ Syme (1958b). The most plausible explanation for the use of *Imperator Caesar* in the entries of 40 is perhaps consistency, given that Octavian celebrated an ovation in 36, and his triple triumph in 29, and the name Augustus was not awarded until 16 January 27 BC: Schäfer (1998) 246–7.

⁸ The *Fasti Barberiniani*, which present a slightly different account of the triumphal lists (the days but not years are recorded, *triumphatores* are marked with

The ceremonies of 40 echo an earlier ovation of Caesar *ex monte Albano* as the only celebrations that are without opponents. Caesar's ovation was combined with the *Feriae Latinae*, an ancient festival designed to bring the Latin communities together through common worship of Jupiter, abstaining from hostilities against each other: a ceremony of concord, as it were, and an end of internal strife.⁹ The unusual nature of Caesar's Alban ovation, by which he was granted the honour of returning to the city on horseback after the *Feriae Latinae*, may be understood as part of the triumphal honours awarded to the dictator.¹⁰ The honours also included the right to offer the *spolia opima* 'as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand' (Dio Cass. 44.4.3: ὥσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρῇ πεφονευκότι), which suggests that, although the ovation of 44 was not for a victory over an enemy, the occasion was used to solidify Caesar's position within the state through traditional triumphal rituals, and was later conceptualized as a triumphal display in the *Fasti Triumphales*.¹¹ The ovation, which was after all a celebration of 'bloodless' victory, was appropriated for the celebration of peace, born out of civil wars.¹² Likewise, the ovations of 40 commemorated the avoidance of conflict through the establishment of peace, and this time a peace *between* two Romans (*quod pacem fecit cum*).¹³ Sumi has stressed that '[t]here was no Roman ritual designed specifically to celebrate *pax*', and that due to its nature the ovation provided

an additional *triumphavit*, ovations, as in the *Fasti Triumphales* as marked with *ovans*, whilst all entries terminate with *palمام dedit*, except for 15 August celebrating the triumph over Egypt; the final entry is from 21 BC: see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343; Beard (2007) 303–5; Bastien (2007) 54–7), also record the reason for the ovations of 40 BC as *quod pace(m) cum [M(arco) Antoni]o fecit / . . . quod pacem cum [Imp(eratore) Caesare fecit]*.

⁹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.49.2; Sumi (2005) 65–9.

¹⁰ Dio Cass. 44.4; Suet. *Caes.* 79; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.87, frag. XL.

¹¹ Lange (2014) 75–6.

¹² For the ovation as a 'bloodless' (*incruenta*) or 'dustless' (*inpulverea*) victory, see Gell. *NA* 5.6.20–1; see also Plin. *HN* 15.19; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.67.10; Dio Cass. 19.16.11; Serv. *Aen.* 4.543; *RE* 18.1890–1903; *Neue Pauly* 9.110; *OCD* 1084; Versnel (1970) 166–71; Sumi (2005) 196; Lange (2014).

¹³ An ovation for the establishment of a truce was awarded to Manlius Volso (*cos.* 474 BC) for the establishment of a forty-year treaty with the Veii: *RE* 18.1896; whilst Livy 2.54 records that Manlius conducted no war: 'The Veintines fell to Manlius as his province. There was no war; however, a forty years' truce (*indutiae*) was granted on their request, and they were ordered to provide food and money. Peace abroad (*paci externae*) was at once followed by discord at home (*discordia domi*)'; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.36.3 states that Manlius received the ovation because he put an end to the war.

a suitable context to celebrate peace and reconciliation.¹⁴ Yet these displays still operated within the language of triumph: the entry of the triumvirs into Rome was still celebrated ‘as if in triumph’ (Dio Cass. 48.31.3: ὥσπερ ἐν ἐπινικίοις).

By the end of the 40s an emphatic reorientation of both the concept of *pax* and victory had taken place. Ideas of what constituted war, victory, and peace were reassessed, re-evaluated, and manipulated to stress the positions of those claiming to restore the *res publica*. Peace, not only as the avoidance of war, but also as the agreement and relationship established between two Roman officials, offered a means of recasting the triumph as an expression of stability and control of the state. This chapter examines the sociopolitical upheavals of the 40s, which produced a cacophony of voices debating the condition of the *res publica* and the role and nature of *pax* within the political landscape. This was a period of disagreement and dissension, of shifting meanings and a dying Republic. An examination of the political language of the decade illustrates how *pax* was taken up as an expression suitable and necessary for the discourse on the crises.

This examination considers what was happening, politically, in the 40s as regards the contexts in which *pax* was being discussed and by whom. The focus is on how the application of the language of war and peace, traditionally used for foreign relations and military conflicts, became a means by which to promote one’s position whilst marginalizing opponents in relation to the *res publica*. *Pax* became dominant in discussions on the stability of the state, over and above other conceptualizations of peace, since the political discourse was driven by a desire to ‘disenfranchise’ political opponents and make them enemies of the state. At the same time, there was disagreement and negotiation over the state of the *res publica* and the application of terminology to describe the situation. The politicization of *pax* accompanies and charts the collapse of the Republic, creating new nuances that fitted and moulded the changing political circumstances. Ultimately, *pax* would only be stabilized with the rule of one man, and the authorized version of what *pax* entailed for the state was established.¹⁵

¹⁴ Sumi (2005) 196.

¹⁵ Tac. Hist. 1.1: *postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit* (‘after the war at Actium it was in the interests of peace that all power be conferred on one man’).

SHIFTS IN POLITICAL LANGUAGE

Throughout the 40s concern over the condition and indeed existence of the *res publica* was voiced from different quarters. As early as mid-50 BC, Caelius suggested the uncertain effect that Pompey's response to the senate's consideration of Caesar's candidature with army and province intact might have on the state (*Fam.* 8.13.2: *quidem reipublicae futurum sit*). The fluctuating status of the *res publica* was further emphasized through the language used to describe its upheaval: *perturbata republica* (*Fam.* 9.6.3); *rem communem esse dilapsam* (*Fam.* 7.28.3); *turbulenta republica* (*Fam.* 12.10.3); *repentino reipublicae motu* (*Fam.* 10.34b). Yet amongst such disturbance, there also existed a rhetoric of sustaining and rebuilding the state, which was closely tied to promotion of political freedom. Cicero even uses architectural language to imagine himself and Varro as the builders and masons working *ad aedificandam rempublicam* (*Fam.* 9.11.5). Whilst the concept of political freedom (*libertas*) was championed by all, the means by which this state of stability and constitutional normality might be achieved were open to debate and manipulation by different political actors.¹⁶ Indeed, Dolabella's correspondence with Cicero in 48 reveals a conceptualization of the *res publica* as contingent on the contemporary political situation: 'It remains that we would be better off there, where the *res publica* now is, rather than finding ourselves with nothing, whilst we pursue that old version of the state' (*Fam.* 9.9.3: *reliquum est, ubi nunc est respublica, ibi simus potius, quam, dum illam veteram sequamur, simus in nulla*). It was futile, Dolabella suggests, to support and construct an idea of the state that did not fit with the current political dynamics.

The role of language was an essential part of the Romans' construction of the *res publica*, and as such was open to disagreement, contestation, and debate, particularly in the late Republic, concerning whose construction of the state was valid. In the civil conflicts of the late Republic, opposing sides would each champion the central ideological elements of the state to legitimize their own positions and to contest those of their opponents. Sallust, in his *Bellum Catilinae* 38.3, remarks that politicians' use of language, in feigning concern for public welfare whilst promoting their own self-interests, constituted

¹⁶ See Arena (2012); Fears (1981b) 869–75; see also Kapust (2013); Steel (2014).

an attack on the state. Furthermore, he places in the mouth of Cato the observation that the shifting meanings and applications of words had contributed to the crisis of the state:

iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. (Sall. Cat. 52.11)

For indeed we have long ago lost the real meaning of things: because to lavishly spend the goods of other people is called generosity, and the daring of wicked acts is called courage, for this reason the *res publica* has been pushed to its limits.

Here, Sallust borrows the Thucydidean model of the pressures exerted on language during civil strife to point out the interdependency of the application and manipulation of words, and shifting political dynamics.¹⁷ It is not merely that, as a function of social disorder, words do not fit onto the concepts that they previously embodied, but that the reorientation of such words around new concepts is, in itself, a cause of social disorder. Language was a political weapon. In effect, the collapse of the Republic was a debate over whose idea of the *res publica* was the valid one. The game was to prove one's ability to maintain the idea of the *res publica* through the ideological values one espoused in relation to the state, whilst also demonstrating the threat one's opponents posed to it.

The political language of the 40s is discernible in the contemporary speeches and correspondence of Cicero, and Caesar's later evaluation of the civil conflicts of the early 40s (his *de bello civili*).¹⁸ Sallust's works on the civil conflicts during the 80s to the 60s were equally a reflection on the politics of the period in which he was writing, in the wake of Caesar's death.¹⁹ Furthermore, the key political ideals of the

¹⁷ Thuc. 3.82.4; Ramsey (2007) 208; also Gerrish (forthcoming) 2. Price (2001) 41 argues that 'Thucydides means that during *stasis* words retain their agreed-upon meaning but the value assigned to them, that is, how their meanings were enacted in society, changes.'

¹⁸ See Batstone and Damon (2006) 31–2 on the issues of dating the composition of *de bello civili*, though it is generally agreed to have been begun shortly after the events it relates.

¹⁹ See Ramsey (2007) 6 on the issue of the date of Sallust's work. Gerrish (forthcoming) argues that Sallust's *Histories* are a response to the politics and language of the triumphal period, and an exploration of the role of history as a potential form of resistance.

decade were publicized and disseminated on the coinage. Whilst there existed an agreement on the kinds of values that were of benefit to the state, the sources offer a variety of viewpoints on the meaning and purpose of peace for the state, which was dependent on the context of the discourse and the relationships of those involved. Even a single individual could offer different stances on the ways in which *pax* fitted into different versions of what the *res publica* should be, and these versions were shaped by the individual contexts in which the ideas of peace were negotiated and debated. Cicero, for example, makes clear, at the end of 50, the distinction between the opinion he expresses publicly and that which he privately endorsed:

dicēs 'quid tu igitur sensurus es?' non idem quod dicturus. sentiam enim omnia faciēda ne armis decertetur, dicam idem quod Pompeius, neque id faciam humili animo. (Cic. Att. 7.6.2)

You will say 'What therefore will your opinion be?' Not the same as what I will say (in public). For my private opinion will be that all steps should be taken to ensure there is no civil conflict, but publicly I shall say what Pompey says and I shall not do it in an abject manner.

Away from the public debate, Cicero was extolling to Pompey the benefits of reconciliation, but publicly he believed siding with Pompey, irrespective of the latter's stance on peace, was the only expedient course.²⁰ That Cicero had felt confined by the political situation and his relationship with Pompey in late 50 to early 49 is clear from a letter to Atticus at the end of March 49 (Att. 8.4.1). In the letter Cicero expresses his relief that his (personal) opinions on peace would be publicly on record, after the circulation of a letter he had written to Caesar (Att. 9.11a). In the very different context of 43, Cicero utterly rejected the concept of peace through negotiations with Antony. The context of the debate and the intended audience determined the language and stances adopted in relation to peace.

Central to these political debates of the late Republic was the language of war and peace. We have already seen, in Chapter 1, in the section 'Perceptions of Peace', how Cicero employed the concepts of *bellum* and *hostis* to reorientate Catiline's relationship with the *populus Romanus* in his second Catilinarian speech on 9 November 63, even though he would actually not be declared an enemy of the

²⁰ Cic. Att. 7.3.5, although his attempts were unsuccessful: Att. 7.8.4.

state until mid-November, after he joined forces with Manlius.²¹ Such language arose out of Rome's first real civil war, wherein Sulla employed the term *hostis* ('enemy of the state') in 88, as a means of legally removing his personal political opponents from their rights of Roman citizenship (*civis*), whilst at the same time aligning his own interests to that of the state.²² The continued use of *hostis* declarations during the conflicts of 77–75, 63, 49–48, and 43–40 BC illustrates how integrated the process had become as part of the rhetoric of civil war. In 49, the senate sought to assert Caesar's position in relation to the state twice over, not only by revoking his legal rights as a *civis* by declaring him *hostis*, but also by claiming he presented an immediate threat to the city through the voting of a *senatus consultum ultimum* (SCU) and declaring a state of *tumultus* (civil disturbance/emergency).²³ After this point, the SCU was abandoned as a political tool, but the *hostis* declarations were forcefully implemented against various political groups in turn, most notably in 44–43: first Antony attempted to declare Octavian a *hostis* at the end of 44, before Cicero sought to return the favour; in the following year, first Dolabella (and his partisans), and then Antony (and his) and Lepidus were declared *hostes*. The conflict between the Antonian camp and Octavian would again erupt with *hostis* declarations coming from both sides in 41.²⁴

The effects that such processes had on the political discourse was to introduce a further layer to the abusive language that pervaded Roman politics.²⁵ For Cicero, the battle for the *res publica* was fought

²¹ Sall. *Cat.* 36.1–2. Cicero also labelled Verres a *hostis* several times in 70, though the ex-governor of Sicily was never declared an enemy of the state. See Cornwell (2017) n. 49 for the instances of the term *hostis* and *domesticus hostis* in the *Verrines*.

²² On Sulla's introduction of *hostis* declarations: Cic. *Brut.* 168; Livy *Per.* 77; Val. Max. 1.5.5, 3.8.5; App. *B Civ.* 1.60. Other sources have suggested that either a law (*lex*) (Vell. 2.19.1) or a *senatus consultum* (senatorial decree) (Flor. 2.9.6) was used to judge (*iudicare*) them as *hostes*. Diod. Sic. 27.29.3 is unclear as to whether a *lex* or *senatus consultum* was used; Plut. *Sulla* 10.1 refers to the death penalty, rather than a *hostis* declaration as the decision of the senate. On the initial application of the *hostis* declarations in 88 and 87, see Lintott (1968) 155; Bauman (1973); Bauman (1983) 337–40; Gaughan (2010) 126–31; Allély (2012) 21–8; Roselaar (2014). See also Cornwell (forthcoming) for the use of *hostis* in the political debates of 49–30. For 88 as Rome's first civil war, see Flower (2010a) 77–80.

²³ Dio Cass. 41.3.4; App. *B Civ.* 2.31, 2.33, 2.50; Flor. 2.13 for Caesar's position as a *hostis*; see Caes. *BCiv.* 1.5 for the use of the SCU against him; Allély (2012) 81–90. See also Lintott (1999) 89–93.

²⁴ See Allély (2012) 91–114 for a detailed discussion of declarations from 44–40 BC, and 238–56 (along with 150, Table 1) for a summary of all *hostis* declarations from 88–40 BC.

²⁵ Achard (1981) 187–355.

between the *boni*, those who exemplified what it was to be a good citizen (*bonus civis*), and the *improbi*, who disturbed the internal harmony of the state, particularly, in Cicero's opinion, by their opposition to his own vision of what the state should be. The possibility of characterizing *improbi* as *hostes*, and therefore outside the rights of a citizen, enabled a conceptual shift from civil war (*bellum civile*) to external war (*bellum externum*).²⁶

Yet, even within this framework, there was clear disagreement as to the categorization and portrayal of the situations the state found itself in. Whilst the senate declared Caesar an enemy of the state and instigated a state of *tumultus*, which by 12 January Cicero described as *bellum* (as opposed to being simply a *civilis discordia*),²⁷ even in April Caesar himself was still referring to an internal dispute (Cic. Att. 10.8b.2: *civilibus controversiis...contentione*).²⁸ Likewise, in 43, whilst Cicero pressured the senate to acknowledge a state of war and declare Antony a *hostis*, L. Iulius Caesar (*cos.* 64) argued for replacing the word *bellum* with *tumultus*, and that Antony should be considered an *adversarius* instead of a *hostis*. By so doing, Lucius reshaped the debate as an internal dispute, rather than open war.²⁹

The uncertainty and fluidity of the political situation is demonstrated by the ability to switch between a range of definitions used to describe war and peace, hostility and friendship. Caesar used the debates over such categorizations to justify his actions in 49–48. At the start of *de bello civili* Caesar's opponents are characterized as *inimici* ('personal enemies'), a term (along with its derivatives) that occurs seventeen times. However, from 1.41 the term *hostis*, which is employed a total of sixty-nine times, is introduced, after which *inimicus* occurs only three times. This switch reflects the change in status that Caesar's opponents have nominally undergone due to their persistent 'direct and violent confrontation' against him and his attempts to negotiate peace.³⁰ Likewise, Caesar's first use of the term *bellum*, in his assessment of the events

²⁶ Achard (1981) 343; Allély (2012) 40–2, 88–9, 91–114.

²⁷ Cic. Fam. 16.11.2. Caelius (Fam. 8.14.3: early August 50) stresses the distinction between *dissensio domestica*, which it should be possible to carry out without recourse to arms (*civiliter sine armis*), and open war (*bellum*).

²⁸ Cf. Caes. BGall. 8.55.2.

²⁹ Cic. Phil. 12.17; Allély (2012) 97.

³⁰ On the distinction between *hostis* and *inimicus* as more than merely public versus private enemies, entitling direct confrontation: Gaertner-Hausburg (2013), 186; see also Raaflaub (2009) 182, 189–91.

at Brundisium (*BCiv.* 1.25–6), implies it was initiated by his opponent's desire for control of the Adriatic and was a consequence of his opponent's refusal to negotiate. Actions against Caesar are presented as violence against the very fabric of the *res publica*.³¹

These discourses of war and peace provide contexts within which to examine how *pax* moved from being a concept that expressed Rome's relation to external (and conceived of as inferior) opponents to its application in defining an ostensibly equal relationship between two Romans. The language of internal peace and stability was a powerful tool used by politicians during the late Republic, and part of an ongoing political struggle for supremacy and legitimacy that found fertile ground for development during the armed conflicts of the period.³²

VISIONS AND VERSIONS OF PAX

The prominence of *pax* within the political discourse of the 40s is clearly illustrated by the introduction of the personification into the numismatic field in 44, by Lucius Aemilius Buca, as part of a series of coins celebrating the dictatorship of Caesar. The obverse of the quinarius depicts a female head with the identifying legend *PAXS*, whilst the joined hands, representative of *fides*, are depicted on the reverse (Fig. 2.1).³³ As discussed in Chapter 1, in

³¹ See Batstone and Damon (2006) 33–88 for an analysis of the themes Caesar sets up in the structure of *de bello civili* 1 to create a sense of closure and stress his achievements.

³² On the use and manipulation of the language of internal stability, see Achard (1981) 72–109; Lobur (2008) esp. 1–12; Akar (2013) 332–439.

³³ Crawford (1974) 494; King (2007) 30–1. This coin is agreed to represent the personification of the quality *pax* rather than a cultic figure. *Pax* as a goddess, rather than a concept or quality, had no history in the Republic: see Clark (2007) 8–9 and n. 15, 159–61; Weinstock (1971) 260–9. The unusual spelling of the legend (*PAXS*) is striking, although later examples can be found in some bronze coinage of Galba and Vitellius, where it is, however, used interchangeably with *PAX*: *RIC* I² Galba 496; Vitellius 172. Variant spellings are also attested for *libertas* in the late Republic: whilst Q. Cassius (*RRC* 428/2, 55 BC), and Brutus (*RRC* 433/1, 54 BC) mint the earliest examples of the legend *LIBERTAS* at Rome, C. Cassius (*RRC* 500/2–5) and Brutus (*RRC* 501/1, 506/6) use *LEIBERTAS* on their coins minted in the East in 43/2 BC. See Clark (2007) 150 n. 89 on the deliberate archaizing of *LEIBERTAS* by Brutus to evoke earlier associations of the concept. Whilst the evidence only allows for speculation,

the section ‘The Visual Language of *Pax*’, by the late Republic the caduceus was acknowledged as a emblem of *pax* (as Varro’s use of the spear and caduceus to symbolize *bellum* and *pax* respectively indicates), and was also linked to ideas of success, victory, and imperial control in the coinage. There did not, however, appear to be a desire or need to offer a personification and explicit label for *pax* until 44.³⁴ This introduction of *Pax* into the numismatic field may be comparable to that of *Concordia* some twenty years earlier, when the contemporary political relevance of the term was reflected in the coinage. It is notable that this introduction of *pax* does not use the caduceus, but rather a symbol of *fides*. The clasped hands and caduceus had already appeared on Caesarian denarii in 48 (Fig. 2.2) and although the quinarius offers a smaller field for display than the denarius, a quinarius of 39 would fit both symbols on its reverse (RRC 529/4b). Nevertheless, given the applicability of such symbols to multiple deities and concepts (*fides*, *concordia*, *felicitas*, *pax*), the desire and need to explicitly identify the female bust and the joined hands with the concept of *pax* is made clear through the legend.³⁵ Indeed, *fides*, as Varro articulated, was at the root of *pax* (Ling. 5.86: *fides pacis*).

In the initial stages of the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, Cicero expresses his concerns for reconciliation and a peaceful settlement, focusing on *concordia* as a necessary condition. He juxtaposes open war and an agreement between the two sides: ‘Pompey spoke with me about the political situation (*de re publica*); he has no doubt that it is war (*non dubium bellum*). There is no hope of agreement (*nihil ad spem concordiae*)’ (Att. 7.4.2: 10 December 50). There is the

the form *PAXS* may illustrate the novelty of the term in the numismatic field, before a standardized version (*PAX*) was introduced.

For the joining of right hands as a sign of *fides*, see Cic. Verr. 2.5.104: *ubi fides, ubi exsecrationes, ubi dextrae complexusque?* cf. Cic. Att. 7.1.4: *ubi illae sunt densae dextrae?* (on which, see Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) 3.279; Piganiol (1959) for an alternative reading of *aeneae dextrae*). On the relationship of *manus* and *fides*, see Boyancé (1964); Levi (1985b).

³⁴ Gruen (1985) 52; Fears (1981a) 773–804. Woolf (1993) 176 and Parchami (2009) 17 both state that *pax* as a coin legend occurs from Sulla onwards, although Parchami (2009) 17 n. 11 does concede that the ‘identity of the female deity on Sulla’s coin is contested’. The caduceus does appear on some of Sulla’s coinage (RRC 366 and 367); however, *PAX* as an identifying legend does not appear on Sulla’s coinage (see RRC 366).

³⁵ See Clark (2007) 141–7 on the relationship between attributes and legends; also Hölscher (1982).



Fig. 2.1 Coin minted by L. Buca in 44 BC, depicting the earliest labelled personification of *PAXS* on the obverse, and the clasped hands of *fides* with the legend *L. AEMILIVS BVCA III VIR* on the reverse (RRC 480/24).

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Fig. 2.2 Coin minted by Decimus Brutus at Rome in 48 BC, depicting on the obverse a female head with the legend *PIETAS*, and depicting joined hands around the caduceus on the reverse (RRC 450/2).

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sense that Cicero correlated the possibility of such an agreement (*ad concordiam*) with securing the predominance of the *boni* (*ad bonorum victoriam*) within the state (Att. 7.3.2: 9 December). However, a week later attempts to reach any agreement (not just between the different political groups, but also with the *equites*) had collapsed sufficiently for Cicero to advance the concept of *pax*, and the avoidance of both victory and tyranny (the latter being contingent on the former): ‘There is a need for peace. Out of victory there will come many evils and certain tyranny’ (Att. 7.5.4: *pax opus est. ex victoria cum multa mala tum certe tyrannus existet*). The new term dominates his letters. As illustrated (Fig. 2.3), whilst Cicero used *concordia* eight times in his correspondence in 49, he focuses his discussions of the instability of the state on the term *pax* (used thirty-eight times).

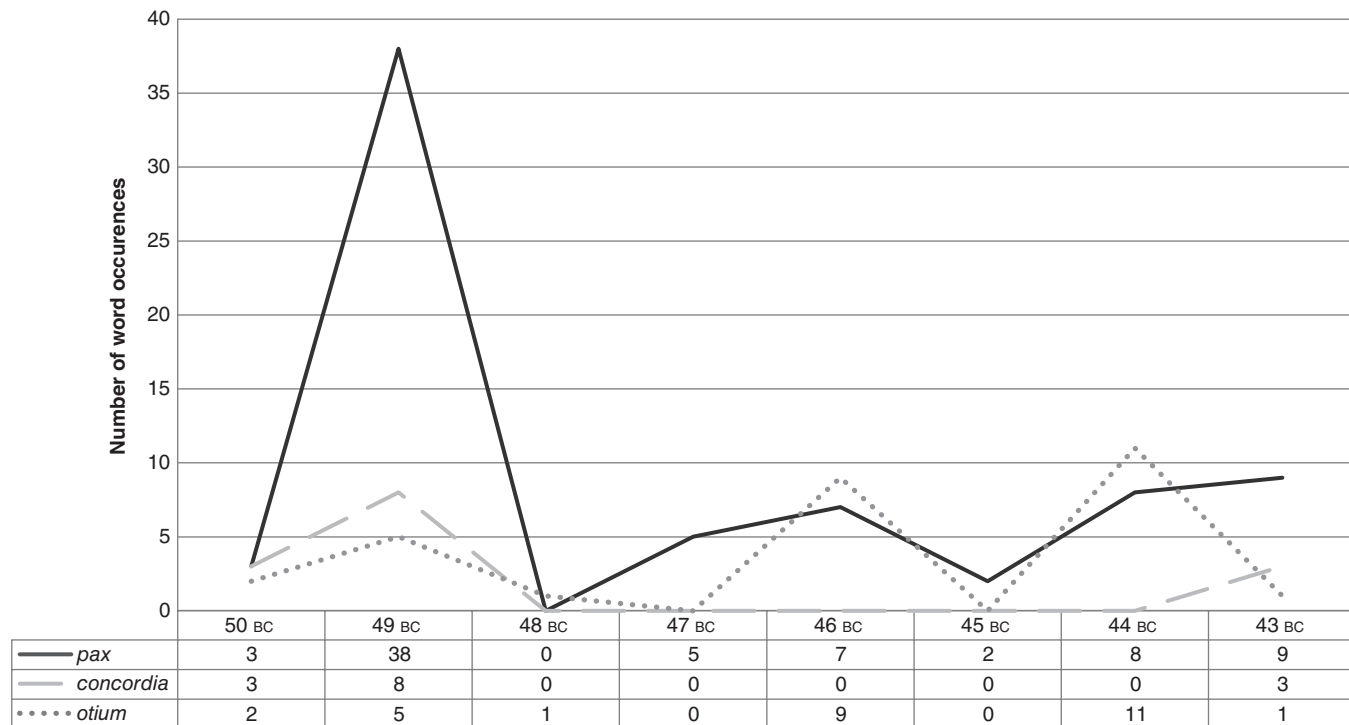


Fig. 2.3 The occurrences of the words *pax*, *concordia*, and *otium*¹ used by Cicero (as author) in his correspondence (50–43 BC).

¹ The occurrences of *otium* here are only counted when the meaning of term refers to political (in)activity; *otium* is used in this sense a total of 29 times by Cicero. The word is also used in Cicero's correspondence to refer to leisure time and free time; *otium* is used in this sense a total of 9 times by Cicero.

As the certainty of war grew, the term *pax* became the explicit alternative, and the idea of agreement was subsumed into it, as an element necessary to establishing peace. Writing to Caesar on 19 March 49 (*Att.* 9.11a.3), Cicero states: 'I, a friend of peace and of both of you, should be so supported by you that I may be able to work for agreement between you and amongst our fellow citizens' (*me et pacis et utrisque vestrum amicum, et ad vestram et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari*). He implies that for peace to be achieved, a correlation between agreement both amongst the citizen body and between Caesar and Pompey themselves was needed.³⁶

The quinarius of 44, in the aftermath of the civil wars of 49–45, recognizes the prominent place in the political landscape that *pax* had gained, whilst fashioning a vision of peace as one accomplished through agreement (as the joined hands imply). The versions of peace presented by the political actors during the 40s offer insight into how the concept was being manipulated to express and justify political relations as the state buckled under the pressures exerted on it.

Possibilities of Negotiating Peace

In December 50, Curio's motion to the senate on whether both Caesar and Pompey should lay down their commands received 370 in favour, with only 22 opposed. The strong move in favour of the motion was, Appian tells us, driven by a desire to avoid conflict (*App. B Civ.* 2.30: ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήδος). Despite this resolve of the senate, an examination of the correspondence from early 49 illustrates the precarious nature of the situation, and continued (unsuccessful) attempts to avoid conflict.³⁷

Whilst, as noted earlier, someone like Cicero could espouse two different stances on the necessity of peace, dependent on the context of the discourse, we should not view the opinions expressed in the letters as purely 'private', or distinct and separate from the public

³⁶ Cicero's desire for achieving peace between the two leaders even prompted him to request from Atticus a work by the contemporary Greek scholar Demetrius of Magnesia entitled *περὶ ὁμονοίας* (*Att.* 8.11.7, 8.12.6, 9.9.2). On Cicero's search for harmony in 49, see Temelini (2005). For the associations between *pax* and *concordia*, see Weinstock (1960) 45–6; Jal (1961).

³⁷ See Lintott (2008) 281–98.

debates. There are, of course, different genres of letter: there are those of a seemingly personal nature, of varying degrees of intimacy, those of a formal, official type, even treatises written in letter form.³⁸ On one level letters had a specified addressee—usually one or possibly two individuals, although dispatches addressed to the magistrates, the senate, and the people of Rome illustrate an explicit intent to disseminate information widely. However, writers also acknowledged that this was not an exclusively private, or indeed secure, means of communication. Decimus Brutus, writing to Cicero in May 43 stated: ‘I think I have written enough, as much as can be committed in writing; for I know who I am writing to’ (*Fam.* 11.10.2: *satis me multa scripsisse, quae litteris commendari possint, arbitror. Scio enim, cui scribam*). Brutus’ wariness of revealing too much of his political stance in a letter, whilst also hinting that Cicero already knows his position anyway, reflects the possibility of the document being intercepted, a concern touched upon by Cicero in a number of others letters.³⁹ During a time of civil conflict, caution, even in written communication, was advisable; yet at the same time letter writing and the dissemination of the documents to second and even third parties was used as a vehicle for persuasion and self-presentation. So, for example, Cicero, writing to Atticus on 13 March 49, forwards copies of letters he has received direct from Caesar’s agents Balbus and Oppius, as well as a letter that Caesar wrote to them, and which Balbus saw fit to forward on to Cicero (*Att.* 9.7–7c; cf. *Att.* 9.13–16 for similar dissemination of correspondence).⁴⁰ Cicero forwards the letters to Atticus partly so that his friend may be kept abreast of the latest news, so as to best advise him, but also partly as proof of Cicero’s own stance and how Caesar received it. Balbus’ use of Caesar’s correspondence is perhaps a greater insight into how letters were being used as a means of manipulation and persuasion, as the two opposing sides vied for support:

posteaquam litteras communes cum Oppio ad te dedi, ab Caesare epistulam accepi, cuius exemplum tibi misi. ex quibus perspicere poteris

³⁸ Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 2.4.1: *epistularum genera multa esse*; see also Hutchinson (1998) 5–9; White (2010) 5–6, 21–9, also 63–86 on the framework of Roman letters.

³⁹ *Fam.* 13.68; *Att.* 10.11.1; White (2010) 12–15. Similarly, in November 44, Cicero instructs Atticus to only allow certain intimates to read his second *Philippic* (*Att.* 16.11.1). On Brutus’ awkward combination of two ideas, see Shackleton Bailey (1977) 2.526.

⁴⁰ See White (2010) 43–6 on enclosures in the Ciceronian corpus.

quam cupiat concordiam suam et Pompei reconciliare et quam remotus sit omni crudelitate; quod eum sentire, ut debeo, valde gaudeo.

(Att. 9.7b.1)

After I had, together with Oppius, sent off our joint letter to you, I received a letter from Caesar, of which I am sending you a copy. From it you can see how much he desires to reconcile his and Pompey's agreement and how far removed he is from all cruelty. That he takes this stance, I am, as I ought to be, most glad.

Caesar's letter does indeed talk of reconciliation, and employs the language of friendship (*mihi esse amicus*) to characterize the relationship that Pompey should have with him, labelling those responsible for the current political situation as *inimicissimi* to them both. Caesar's language grounds the conflict very much within the sphere of personal civic hostilities, rather than outright direct confrontation. Nevertheless, he also places a heavy emphasis of the idea of victory:

constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium dare, operam ut reconciliarem. temptemus, hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recuperare et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. haec nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. (Att. 9.7c.1)

I decided that I should show myself as moderate as possible, and that I should work hard to reconcile myself with Pompey. Let us try by this means to see if we can recover the hearts of all and enjoy a **lasting victory**, since the rest have not been able by their cruelty to escape hatred nor to hold on to an **enduring victory**, except Lucius Sulla alone, whom I do not wish to imitate. Let this be a **new style of conquest** so that we are defended by mercy and generosity.

Reconciliation with Pompey was then a means for Caesar to secure his position within the state, against his (and apparently Pompey's) opponents. Achieving this position is envisaged as a 'victory'; yet he stresses the need to recast the image of a Roman victor (*haec nova sit ratio vincendi*) and avoid the Sullan model of imposing defeat and destruction on fellow Romans. By this means, Caesar is able to avoid applying a conventional idea of post-conquest pacification to his Roman opponents. Caesar's 'victory' is not to be achieved through the defeat of the opposition but through the offer of clemency, which he illustrates in his letter with an account of his capture and

immediate release of Pompey's engineer Magius, with the intention that Magius will then negotiate an *amicitia*.

Whilst addressed to Oppius and Balbus, Caesar's letter certainly shows an awareness of a wider readership, particularly given the way he sets out his 'programme' and disavows any associations with Sulla. This latter claim may very likely be directly engaging with the concern of Pompey's emulation of Sulla, which appears in Cicero's correspondence to Atticus at this time.⁴¹ Moreover, Balbus considers it perfectly acceptable to forward Caesar's letter to Cicero as a means of proof of Caesar's political stance, and he indeed does this on more than one occasion, emphasizing his hopes of peace (*Att.* 9.13a.2). The dissemination of individuals' thoughts through letter writing, and indeed even through the circulation of their correspondence itself, indicates that this form of communication was one of the main vehicles of discourse through which political figures (particularly given their disparate locations) debated and negotiated peace, and its interpretation, in the early months of 49.

For Cicero, *pax* was a vital necessity for the stability of the state in 49. So the context of open war (as Cicero saw it) between Romans called for a reorientation of the traditional relationship between *pax* and victory. He had, on numerous occasions, voiced his concern regarding the victory of either side, since it would inevitably mean the defeat and subjugation of Romans on one side of the equation. Peace on the other hand, which Cicero saw as an alternative to war, would avoid such an outcome.⁴² Once again, the context of articulating a relationship between Romans in terms of *pax* appears to have led to a reconceptualization and removal of the associations with victory. The prominence of *pax* in his correspondence demonstrates not only his own concern, but also others' willingness to engage Cicero on the subject as regards negotiating for the good of the *res publica*. There was certainly an awareness on the part of the Caesarians of reassuring Cicero on the possibilities of peace and reconciliation, even though Caesar's stance in this regard appears inconsistent or, at the very least, fluid.

⁴¹ *Sullanum regnum*: *Att.* 8.11.2; 9.7.3.

⁴² *Cic. Att.* 7.14.3 (25 Jan 49): 'Indeed, I do not stop urging for peace (*pacem*); an unjust peace (*iniusta*) is more advantageous than the most justified war with citizens (*iustissimum bellum cum civibus*)'.

Balbus attempted to reassure Cicero of his anguish over the protracted negotiations between Caesar and Pompey at Brundisium, once again sending a letter from Caesar, which purported to indicate a hope of a peaceful settlement (*Att.* 9.13a). Whilst Balbus' letter aimed to persuade Cicero of the Caesarians' willingness for peace, further correspondence of Caesar's, sent to Cicero by Q. Pedius, outlined the tactics of the besieging of Pompey at Brundisium. It is possible that Pedius, another Caesarian, forwarded the communication as a means of highlighting the politically and militarily weak position of Pompey, and therefore a reason why it would be in Cicero's own interests to support Caesar. In fact, Cicero's response to the information he received was to mourn the lack of a possibility of peace: 'Where is the peace about which Balbus wrote that he was tearing himself up over?' (*Att.* 9.14.3: *ubi est illa pax, de qua Balbus scripserat torqueri se?* Cf. *Att.* 9.13a.2). Moreover, Cicero had heard from another source, a certain Baebius, that Caesar had claimed to be taking vengeance for those whom Pompey had killed under Sulla's regime. Caesar's presentation of his relations with Pompey in early 49 took on different tones, dependent on the context of the discourse, with the idea of peace and reconciliation only explicitly espoused in more programmatic statements. Such statements (cf. *Att.* 9.7c) engaged with, and redefined the idea of, victory in terms of reconciliation, which would enable Caesar to maintain power within the state. As discussed in Chapter 1, in the section 'Perceptions of Peace', both Caesar and Cicero understood the mechanics of *pax* as the explicit negotiation between two parties; yet even in their application and definition of the term in the dialogues in early 49, they suggest different ideas on the purpose of peace.

Peace and its possibilities were debated in the correspondence of 49, though alternative stances on the relationship between Caesar and Pompey were also being expounded: Caesar's capture of Pompey's prefect, who came in the capacity of a negotiator (*Att.* 9.13a.2: *misit ad me N. Magium de pace*), does not preclude his desire for reconciliation, but it does suggest that the position from which he wishes to achieve it is one of superiority, allowing him to manipulate the discourse of negotiation to his advantage. Caesar's manipulation of the place of *pax* in the debates of the civil war of 49/48 intensifies in his later account, the *de bello civili*, written at a time when his position within the state was

more secure.⁴³ The *commentarius* presents a sanitized version of Caesar's association with *pax* during the civil war. He propagates a discourse on *pax*, which he used to attack those who, unjustly, sought to bring war to the state, as opposed to accepting his offers to negotiate for peace. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in the section 'Perceptions of Peace', twenty-two of the twenty-three instances of *pax* in the *de bello civili* describe verbal discussions and stress the necessity of communication and negotiation to the process, and indeed the term is often concentrated in reported or direct speech (most notably at 1.26; 1.85; 3.10; 3.17–19). This enables Caesar to stress his desire for diplomatic exchanges, achieved through intermediaries of friends and associates relaying *mandata*. There are three such instances of individuals being sent from Caesar to his opponents to negotiate: Caninius (a *familiaris* and *necessarius* of Libo) is sent to persuade Libo to promote peace with Pompey (1.26); Vibullius Rufus, Pompey's chief engineer, is sent to propose negotiations (3.10); and A. Clodius (a *familiaris* of both Caesar and Scipio) is sent to persuade Scipio of peace (3.57). The presentation of peace that Caesar offers through Vibullius provides insight into his definition of the term, in the context of his self-justification of the civil war. Caesar argues that peace is a viable option owing to the equal positions (including setbacks) he and Pompey find themselves in (*pares ambo viderentur*). Peace is only possible because of their equality, and were the circumstances and balance of power to shift in favour of one of them, the possibility of peace would be lost, since the one with the upper hand would be unwilling to surrender his position. Whilst the conventional power dynamics of peace (as illustrated in the model of the *pax deorum*) articulate a discernible stronger and weaker party, *pax* between Romans needed to express equality.

This definition of an equal relationship of peace between Romans serves to emphasize the importance of peace in the justification of civil war. Whilst Caesar engaged with the discourse on the necessity of peace in early 49, many of his efforts at that time were to ensure he had control and influence over the political situation. His capture and release of Pompey's envoys on more than one occasion indicates that the negotiation of any peace was to be on his terms.⁴⁴ Yet in his

⁴³ See n. 18.

⁴⁴ See Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) 4.371, 386.

commentarius, he is able to stress the centrality of peace to his campaign, from the start (*BCiv* 1.11). What, in part, shapes the relations in *de bello civili* is his opponents' refusal to accept his peace offers, as is particularly emphasized in 3.19, where the two sides meet to discuss terms at the river Apsus. Caesar's legate stresses the necessity of peace between fellow citizens (*liceretne civibus ad cives de pace legatos mittere*), but the response that Caesar puts in the mouth of Pompey's legate Labienus confirms the choice of violence against the state over reconciliation with Caesar: 'then let us stop talking about a settlement. As far as we are concerned, unless Caesar's head is brought back there is no possibility of peace' (3.19.8: *desinite ergo de compositione loqui; nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest*). Caesar had earlier indicated the possibility of peace as a reflection of his beneficial role for the state. As Batstone and Damon have demonstrated, the structure of book 1 of *de bello civili* serves as an allegory of the whole war, with Caesar bringing peace in the wake of the battle of Ilerda (1.74.87).⁴⁵ Instead of their usual rejections of negotiations, the Pompeians agree to Caesar's conditions: 'this is the one and ultimate condition of peace' (1.85.3: *hanc unam atque extremam esse pacis condicionem*). Peace here is still possible, because ultimately its accomplishment is the basis for Caesar's self-justification.

After Caesar's assassination, the *res publica* was once again unstable, with opposing factions trying to establish themselves in a position of power. This instability provided an occasion for renewed discussions of peace, and over the following year politicians manipulated the concept to fit with what they considered politically expedient. Most striking in this regard is how Cicero's interpretation of *pax* changes in this period. After 15 March 44, steps were being taken by Antony and Lepidus to secure their positions by publicly discussing the need for negotiation and peace, and by establishing an alliance with Caesar's assassins.⁴⁶ Cicero later described Antony as having given his son as a *pacis obses* ('a pledge of peace') to promote negotiations with the Republicans (*Phil.* 1.31). Antony further asserted his position through

⁴⁵ Batstone and Damon (2006) 75–84.

⁴⁶ *Cic. Phil.* 1.31; *App. B Civ.* 2.130–1 records a debate in the forum concerning peace, where both Antony and Lepidus question the nature of the peace sought. For the aftermath of the assassination, see Dio Cass. 44.23–34; Frisch (1946) 42–62; Scullard (1982) 154; van der Blom (2003) 50–7.

the ratification of Caesar's *acta* on 17 March.⁴⁷ Cicero accepted the ratification of the *acta* for the sake of political expediency and the hope for stability for the *res publica*, but he did not approve of them (*Fam.* 12.1.2). Indeed, writing to Atticus at the start of May 44, he emphasized how Antony was using the rhetoric of peace to manipulate the political situation: 'Yet I cannot bear those who, while they pretend they desire peace (*se pacem velle simulant*), in fact defend nefarious acts' (*Att.* 14.15.2). It seems probable that Cicero is referring to the defence and use of, and addenda made to, Caesar's *acta*: by late April Antony was clearly making use of the ratification of the *acta* to gain further power himself.⁴⁸

Cicero spoke little of *pax* in public between the assassination of Caesar and his *Philippics*, although it does appear from his letters to have been a concern of his and an issue on which others were, once again, willing to engage him on.⁴⁹ His concern for the internal stability of the state is most clear in his aforementioned discussion of the *acta* of Caesar. He hoped to influence the consul of 44, Dolabella, the consuls-elect for 43, Hirtius and Pansa, as well as Caesar's heir Octavian, in order to protect the *res publica* from what he saw as tyranny.⁵⁰ However, Antony consolidated his power over the course of the summer, outmanoeuvring Brutus and Cassius.⁵¹ By the end of August any veil of compromise between them had slipped: Brutus and Cassius sailed to the East, but not before laying down a threat concerning the termination of Caesar's reign and the need to secure the safety of the *res publica* (*Cic. Fam.* 11.3).

Despite the political tensions that arose in the wake of Caesar's death, the senate once again appeared in favour of finding a means to a peaceful settlement, rather than declaring open war. The decision to send two embassies (one in actuality, the other planned but never

⁴⁷ *Cic. Phil.* 1.1–3, 1.16–17, 1.31–2; *Att.* 14.6.2, 14.9.2; *App. B Civ.* 2.128–9, 2.135; (1946) 55–6; Manuwald (2007) 11.

⁴⁸ Already in April Cicero had labelled Antony a tyrant: *Att.* 14.5.2, 14.9.2, 14.12.1, 14.13.6, 14.14.2.

⁴⁹ *Cic. Att.* 14.15.2, 14.15.7, 14.20.4, 15.1.3.

⁵⁰ Dolabella: *Cic. Att.* 14.15.1, 14.16.2, 14.17.4, 14.17a, 14.18.1, 14.20.4, 14.21.4; Hirtius and Pansa: *Cic. Att.* 14.9.2, 14.11.2, 14.20.4, 14.22.1; Octavian: *Cic. Att.* 14.11.2, 14.12.2, 14.21.4, 15.12.2. For Cicero's activity from March–August 44 BC, see van der Blom (2003) 290–9.

⁵¹ On Brutus' and Cassius' commission for the supervision of the corn supply: *Cic. Att.* 15.9.1, 15.1.1–2; Frisch (1946) 101–5.

sent) to Antony in 43 suggests that, on votes alone, the majority were inclined to avoid conflict through negotiation.⁵² The frequency of *pax* in Cicero's *Philippics* (which will be discussed in more detail in the following section) is an indication of the relevance of the term to the political discussion. Despite Cicero's stance in opposition to peace with Antony, other politicians continued to push for negotiation, peace and reconciliation, and the avoidance of war. In fact, the possibility of peace broke down into debates on how the political situation should be qualified and what *pax* in such a situation would mean. The debate in the senate on 2 February proposed three different solutions to the tensions: peace/*pax* (Calenus), internal discord/*tumultus* (L. Iulius Caesar), and war/*bellum* (Cicero).

Debates on the Meaning of *Pax*

Caesar's *de bello civili* attempted to present an authorized version of peace, and its message appears to have been disseminated in the Caesarian coinage. In 48, coins minted by Decimus Brutus depicted the personification of *Pietas* on the obverse, with the joined hands and the caduceus on the reverse (Fig. 2.2). Here *Pietas* is directly linked with ideas of *fides*, *concordia*, *pax*, and *felicitas*.⁵³ Nevertheless, other voices on peace were still being promulgated. During the conflicts in Africa in 47–46, Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio was minting coins portending the successful outcome to be achieved through victory. His coinage depicts a winged Victory with a shield and caduceus on the reverse, with the Genius of Africa on the obverse (Fig. 2.4). The messages of victory in Africa—Cato also produced coinage depicting Victory with the legend *VICTRIX*⁵⁴—in response

⁵² Gotter (1996) 149–72.

⁵³ Crawford (1974) 466 takes the clasped hands to symbolize *concordia* rather than *fides*, given the context of Caesarian rhetoric of reconciliation during the civil war. There is certainly an explicit association of the joined hands with *concordia* on the coinage of 39 BC onwards (RRC 529/4b). These two concepts need not necessarily be separated and may both be equally represented or understood in the Caesarian coinage of 48 (RRC 450/2, 451/1) and 44 (RRC 480/6, 480/24). Indeed, the concept of *fides* was applicable to the problem of debt in 48 BC: Cicero, in his *Pro Marcello*, speaks of the recalling of credit (*revocanda fides* (Marc. 23)); see Boyancé (1964) 108–10. On the correlation of *fides* and *concordia*, particularly in relation to the problem of debts, see Akar (2013) 366–86.

⁵⁴ RRC 462 replicates the coinage minted by a relative in 89 BC (RRC 343).



Fig. 2.4 Reverse of a coin minted by Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in Africa in 47/46 BC, depicting a winged Victory carrying a shield and caduceus (RRC 460/4).

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to the Caesarian rhetoric at Rome indicate a debate over how relations between Romans were to be described and negotiated at this time.⁵⁵

The debates over the necessity and meaning of *pax* intensified during the civil conflict of late 44/43, which saw D. Brutus hold the province of Gallia Cisalpina against Antony. The consul of 44 had exchanged his assigned province of Macedonia for that of Brutus by (somewhat irregular) legislation passed through the popular assembly in June, and by the end of November had marched against Brutus at Mutina. The struggle over Gallia Cisalpina was part of a larger struggle for control of the state: Cicero claimed at a meeting of the senate on 20 December 44, at which he delivered his third *Philippic*, that he had laid the foundations of the *res publica* (*Fam.* 12.25a.2: *fundamenta ieci reipublicae*). His first *Philippic*, delivered notably at the meeting of the senate in the temple of Concordia on 2 September, aimed to maintain the stability of the state, established after the negotiations of 17 March, and stressed the peace that had been achieved in the initial period after Caesar's assassination.⁵⁶ The speech delivered on 20 December marked a change in Cicero's position and pressed for immediate action against

⁵⁵ Whilst Scipio was portending a peace-bearing Victory, Cicero, writing in 47 BC about the strong Republican position in Africa, did not view victory as a possible outcome: *confirmari cotidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae* (*Att.* 11.12.3).

⁵⁶ See Clark (2007) 173–5 on the potency of using the temple of Concordia as the location of *Philippics* 1 and 2; also Jal (1961) 227–8. See Ramsey (2003) 118–19 on the use of *pax* and *otium* to account for the ratification of Caesar's *acta* on March 17.

Antony.⁵⁷ The arguments made between 20 December 44 and the end of April 43 revolve around the status of Antony in relation to the state, and debates on the nature of the conflict. Cicero's central argument in the speeches is that, for the stability of the state, no peace can be made with Antony, although the frequency with which the term *pax* is used hints at not only its contemporary relevance to the political discourse, but also Cicero's need to engage with and redefine the concept in order to recast Antony as an enemy of the state (Table 2.1).⁵⁸ The highest attestations of *pax* are concentrated in speeches 7, 12, and 13, which are concerned with the first and second embassies to Antony.

In the debates at the start of 43 there were three different solutions to the political tensions: peace, a state of civil emergency, or open war. Calenus, in January and February, insisted on the importance of negotiating with Antony in order to achieve the restoration of the *res publica*.⁵⁹ Calenus' stance of reconciliation, even after Antony's rejection of the terms of the first embassy, may suggest the importance of a diplomatic solution in certain quarters, particularly the Caesarians who found that their position, after Caesar's death, was uncertain.⁶⁰ More specifically, Calenus' arguments appear to focus on a definition of peace that equated to the safety of all citizens (*Phil.* 8.13). Cicero refutes the viability of such a definition of peace, emphasizing that, since the civil conflicts of the Gracchi, it had been necessary to fight against citizens who threatened the state. For Cicero, being a citizen was not necessarily enough: one had to meet his definition of a *bonus civis*, and in his eyes Antony could not even be treated as a conventional enemy of the state:

ac maioribus quidem vestri, Quirites, cum eo hoste res erat, qui haberet rem publicam, curiam, aerarium, consensum et concordiam civium, rationem aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis et foederis; hic vester hostis vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam; senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet;

⁵⁷ Frisch (1946) 144–59; Gotter (1996) 131; van der Blom (2003) 300–8, esp. 307–8; Manuwald (2007) 305. Cicero's second *Philippic* resulted in a clear break between Antony and Cicero: Harries (2006) 216.

⁵⁸ On the use of the *Philippics* for understanding the social and political ideals of the period: Stevenson and Wilson (2008) esp. 14.

⁵⁹ Dio Cass. 46.1–28; Cic. *Phil.* 8.11–19; Akar (2013) 430–8.

⁶⁰ See Miączewska (forthcoming) for a re-evaluation of Calenus' role as a peace negotiator at the start of 43, in terms of his usual depiction in the scholarship as a straight-up Antonian.

Table 2.1 Occurrences of concepts and values in Cicero's *Philippics*.

	CONCEPT													
	<i>bellum</i>	<i>concordia</i> [†]	<i>felicitas</i> [‡]	<i>fidelis</i> [‡]	<i>hostis</i>	<i>libertas</i>	<i>otium</i>	<i>pactio</i>	<i>pax</i>	<i>pietas</i>	<i>salus</i>	<i>spes</i> [*]	<i>tumultus</i>	<i>victoria</i>
<i>Phil.1</i>	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	6	0	3	1	0	0
<i>Phil.2</i>	20	3	3	1	7	8	2	0	9	2	3	4	0	1
<i>Phil.3</i>	4	3	3	3	7	17	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	2
<i>Phil.4</i>	1	3	1	2	16	10	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	1
<i>Phil.5</i>	3	6	3	1	9	11	1	0	4	1	6	8	2	0
<i>Phil.6</i>	11	1	0	3	0	4	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	1
<i>Phil.7</i>	10	1	0	2	11	5	0	0	24	0	2	7	0	0
<i>Phil.8</i>	31	1	0	3	5	4	3	0	13	1	1	3	12	1
<i>Phil.9</i>	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0
<i>Phil.10</i>	7	1	0	1	1	16	2	0	2	0	2	3	0	0
<i>Phil.11</i>	39	1	0	4	15	5	3	0	1	0	3	3	0	2
<i>Phil.12</i>	13	0	0	5	8	4	0	2	31	0	4	9	1	5
<i>Phil.13</i>	25	3	1	6	15	9	1	1	21	5	4	0	0	0
<i>Phil.14</i>	16	0	6	3	34	7	0	0	2	3	7	4	0	14
	186	25	17	36	128	102	14	3	118	16	41	50	17	27

[†] *Concordia* here refers to the temple of Concord 8 out of its 25 occurrences.

[‡] The term *felix* (11) is included in the concept category of *felicitas*, and the terms *fides* (14) and *fidus* (3) are included in the concept category of *fidelis*.

^{*} *Spes* occurs with the genitive 32 times: most notably with *pacis* (6); with *libertatis* (5); with *victoriae* (3); with *salutis* (2); with *virtutis* (2); with *rei publicae* (1); and with the general concept of restoration (2).

aerarium vestrum exhaustit, suum non habet; nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla?

(Cic. Phil. 4.14)

Your ancestors, men of Rome, had to deal with the kind of enemy who possessed a state, a senate, a public treasury, a consensus of like-minded citizens, and a consideration for a peace and treaties, if events had developed that way. This enemy of yours is attacking your state, but he himself has none. He is eager to destroy the senate, the council of the world, but himself has no public council. He has emptied your treasury, but has none of his own. As for a united citizenry, how can he have that when he has no community? What basis for peace can there be with a person whose cruelty taxes belief and whose good faith is non-existent?⁶¹

Cicero had since 20 December been trying to have Antony declared an enemy of the state, and his language focuses heavily on the concepts of *bellum* and *hostis*, alongside the threats these posed to the *libertas* of the state (Table 2.1). In this passage, he places Antony outside the traditional sphere of a *hostis*, with whom one could negotiate a peace, on the grounds that enemy states had an understanding of, and would defend, their own constitution. Antony's actions against the interests of his own state (and so outside the bounds of a *bonus civis*) are presented by Cicero as nullifying any possibility of peace: *poteritne esse pacatus Antonius?* (7.24). His use of *pacatus* to describe Antony is particularly striking. Cicero uses the participle/adjective only twice in his *Philippics*, both times in relation to Antony (5.24; 7.24), whilst the noun *pax* occurs 118 times. The inability of Antony's nature to be made peaceful juxtaposed with the frequent repetition of the idea of *pax* serves to stress that the calls for peace and reconciliation with Antony are untenable.⁶² Indeed, Cicero ridiculed Antony's supposed desire for peace, outlining his rejection of the terms of the first embassy (Phil. 8.25) and demonstrating that Antony was merely using the possibility of peace as a political tool to assert his position and establish rewards for his troops.

⁶¹ Adapted from Shackleton Bailey (2009).

⁶² Even before the return of the first embassy, Cicero saw the purpose of their mission was not 'to beg for peace, but to declare war' (Fam. 12.24.2: *non ad pacem deprecandam, sed ad denuntiandum bellum*).

Despite Cicero's rhetoric, in late March letters advocating peace with Antony were sent by Plancus, governor of Central Gaul (*Fam.* 10.6.1), and Lepidus, governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Nearer Spain (*Fam.* 10.27; *Fam.* 10.31.4; *Phil.* 13.7–21), whilst Antony claimed to have received communication from Hirtius and Octavian concerning the senate's deliberation about reconciliation (*Phil.* 13.36). Clearly, the idea of achieving *pax* and reconciliation on behalf of the state was being promoted by Plancus and Lepidus as justification for their interactions with, and inactivity against, Antony. Cicero chastised both governors for the suggestion that peace and liberty for the state could be achieved through negotiating with Antony: 'but if this peace is going to reinstate a degenerate man in possession of the most uncontrollable tyranny, know that all sane men are of this mind, that they accept death before slavery' (*Fam.* 10.27.1: *sin ista pax perditum hominem in possessionem impotentissimi dominatus restitutura est, hoc animo scito esse omnes sanos, ut mortem servituti anteponant*; cf. *Fam.* 10.6.3). Peace amongst citizens is encouraged, but both men are urged to dissociate themselves (*seiungere*: *Fam.* 10.6.2; *Fam.* 10.27.1) from actions and allegiances that would enslave the state. For Cicero, these politicians were manipulating the concept of *pax* as something desirable for the state, in order to advance their own positions. The language of peace and negotiation was a false one, Cicero argues, in that peace would in reality be servitude if Antony's position within the state were secured through it. Both in his *Philippics* and correspondence, Cicero rejects a definition of *pax* as an agreement or negotiation (*pactio*), stressing that only through victory (over Antony) can peace and freedom from slavery be secured for the state.⁶³ Cicero later reiterates the idea of peace achieved through war with Antony, when he wrote to D. Brutus in May 43 after his victory at Mutina, and the uncertainty of Lepidus' position:

nec vero Lepidum timebamus. quis enim esset, qui illum tam furiosum arbitretur, ut, qui in maximo bello pacem velle se dixisset, is in optatissima pace bellum reipublicae indiceret? (Cic. *Fam.* 11.18.2)

Nor indeed are we afraid of Lepidus. For who is there who would think that he was so mad that, after he had said that during the very great war

⁶³ Cic. *Phil.* 12.9, 12.14, 13.2; *Fam.* 10.6.1.

he wished for peace, he would, in the middle of so welcome a peace, declare war on the state?

In Cicero's presentation of events, the *optatissima pax* has been achieved through Antony's defeat at Mutina (*Fam.* 11.18.3: *abiectus et fractus sit Antonius*), and Lepidus, by implying support for Antony, would be acting against the interests of the state. An alliance with Antony would be the destruction of the peace achieved through victory over him.⁶⁴ So, through casting Antony as the *hostis* the application of *pax* can once again invoke the more traditional notion as involving a defeat.

Cicero debated the meaning and application of *pax* in the context of the discussions concerning Antony's position in the state. He wanted to stress that the idea of peace that was being promoted by the likes of Calenus and L. Piso, and further championed by Plancus and Lepidus, was a lie. In his thirteenth *Philippic*, Cicero looks back over the past forty years of civil war and provides an analysis of the meaning and the role of peace within the conflicts:

sed hoc primum videndum est, patres conscripti, cum omnibusne pax esse possit, an sit aliquod bellum inexpiabile, in quo pactio pacis lex sit servitutis. pacem cum Scipione Sulla sive faciebat sive simulabat, non erat desperandum, si convenisset, fore aliquem tolerabilem statum civitatis. Cinna si concordiam cum Octavio confirmare voluisset, hominum in re publica sanitas remanere potuisset. proximo bello si aliquid de summa gravitate Pompeius, multum de cupiditate Caesar remisisset, et pacem stabilem et aliquam rem publicam nobis habere licuisset.

(Cic. *Phil.* 13.2)

But this must be addressed first, conscript fathers: is peace with all men possible, or is there such a thing as an inextinguishable war, in which a pact of peace is a law for slavery? When Sulla tried, or pretended to try, to make peace with Scipio [83 BC], it was not unreasonable to hope that if they came to terms a tolerable state of the community would emerge. If Cinna had been willing to come to an agreement with Octavius [87 BC], the Republic might have retained some degree of health. In the latest war, if Pompey had been a little less serious and Caesar a great deal less greedy, we could have had a stable peace and some semblance of a Republic.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 10.30 for Galba's report of the victory at Forum Gallorum on 15 April, and *Fam.* 11.9 for Antony's defeat at Mutina on 27 April.

⁶⁵ Adapted from Shackleton Bailey (2009).

Cicero stresses that there was an understanding that for the state to function peace had to be part of the equation. Yet immediately following this passage, he questions the possibility of peace with the Antonians. The reason for this, as he outlined at the start of his speech, was that, whilst the name and idea of peace was, in and of itself, beneficial, manipulation of this concept by impious citizens would be detrimental to political freedom (*libertas*), which was at the heart of the *res publica* (*Phil.* 13.1). Of course, Cicero's own manipulation of these concepts is what enables him to deny reconciliation with Antony. The old meaning of peace, as something that could previously be exercised between political leaders, was no longer possible. Indeed, Cicero contrasts the kind of peace that Lepidus had recently achieved with Sextus Pompeius (*quod silentio bellum civile confecerat*) with the kind of peace that would exist between Antony and Rome (*Phil.* 13.9). He allows Sextus to be maintained as a *civis* in relation to the *res publica*, but denies any such possibility for Antony, whom he has been attempting to disenfranchise since the end of 43. The civil war of the present had become, in Cicero's interpretation, a battle for the freedom of the state, in which the politicized nature of peace is manipulated to convince the audience of the impossibility of peace with Antony.

Cicero's reworking of *pax* was a means through which he could attack the proposals of Calenus and Piso on the need for diplomatic exchange (*Phil.* 12.1–3). Yet the language of peace was also a means through which Cicero's own position could be attacked. The speech that Dio puts in the mouth of Calenus clearly draws on contemporary anti-Ciceronian rhetoric, and engages with the debates on peace that lie behind Cicero's *Philippics*. Dio's Calenus charges Cicero with the destruction of peace and civil harmony during his consulship in 63:

σὺ δ', ὦ Κικέρων, τί ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ σου οὐχ ὅτι σοφὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τιμωρίας τῆς μεγίστης ἄξιον ἔπραξας; οὐχ ἡσυχάζουσιν μὲν καὶ ὁμονοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐξετάραξας καὶ ἐστασίσας, τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἄλλων τέ τινων καὶ δούλων παρακλήτων πληρώσας; οὐ τὸν Κατιλίαν σπουδαρχήσαντα μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν δεινὸν ποιήσαντα κακῶς ἀπώλεσας; οὐ τὸν Λέντουλον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ μήτ' ἀδικήσαντάς τι μήτε κριθέντας μήτε ἐλεγχθέντας οἰκτρῶς διέφθειρας;

(Dio Cass. 46.20.1–2).

But as for you, Cicero, what did you accomplish in your consulship, I will not say that was wise and good, but that was not deserving of the greatest punishment? Did you not throw our city into confusion

and discord when it was at peace and harmonious, and fill the forum and the Capitol with slaves, among others, whom you had summoned to help you? Did you not basely destroy Catiline, who had merely canvassed for office but had otherwise done nothing dreadful? Did you not pitilessly slay Lentulus and his followers, who were not only guilty of no wrong, but had neither been tried nor convicted?⁶⁶

Just as Cicero was wont to see Antony in the role of the despot, so too were others able to present his own actions as a destruction of civil liberties and peace. The idea of peace was tied up with concerns of an individual's predominance within the state at the expense of *libertas*. This relationship between *pax* and *libertas* as a central concern for the state juxtaposed with despotism is stressed by Pollio, then governor of Further Spain, in his letters to Cicero between March and May 43 (*Fam.* 10.31–3). Pollio attempts to justify and explain his position of inactivity against Antony (although he would eventually join Antony later that year), aligning himself with the maintenance of both peace and freedom for all citizens, and therefore the *res publica*. In a sense, Pollio is hedging his bets with Cicero, realizing the political value and weight that the language of peace and freedom carries as a means for negotiating one's position.⁶⁷ Given Pollio's engagement with these concepts it is noteworthy that his rhetoric is understood as the foundation for both Dio's and Appian's speeches, put in the mouths of Calenus and Piso respectively, against Cicero in the debate in the senate of 1 January 43.⁶⁸ The fluidity with which politicians could orientate and reorientate themselves around key concepts in such a manner ties back into Sallust's observations on the manipulation of language and the collapse of the *res publica*.

As already discussed, Sallust stresses that the collapse of the state could be traced in the corruption of words, whose meanings had been distorted due to the politicized nature of the debates. Whilst Sallust's works have a dramatic setting stretching from the 80s to the 60s, a comparison with the debates that form the context for Cicero's *Philippics* and the discourse revealed through his correspondence indicates the influence of the political climate of the late 40s on

⁶⁶ Adapted from Cary (1917).

⁶⁷ Bosworth (1972) 452–62.

⁶⁸ Gabba (1957) for the rhetoric of Pollio as the basis for both Dio's speech of Calenus (46.1–28) and Appian's speech of Piso (*B Civ.* 3.54–60); see also Miączewska (forthcoming).

Sallust's analysis of the earlier period.⁶⁹ As Kriz has demonstrated, both *pax* and *libertas* are keywords in Sallust's analysis of the decline of the state.⁷⁰ For the purpose of the current discussion, an examination of two speeches from the *Histories* will demonstrate Sallust's emphasis on the multifaceted and polarized nature of the language of peace during civil conflict.

Both Lepidus, addressing the *populus*, and Philippus, addressing the senate, champion the ideas of *pax* and *libertas*, though their orientation of the concept is dependent on their political alignment and audience. The speeches are not an exact pair of alternative positions on a particular issue.⁷¹ However they do engage in a similar discourse of the political ideals of *pax* and *libertas*. By using the language of *pax* and *bellum*, as well as ideas of political freedom and slavery, both speeches argue for the justification of actions against political opponents as being of benefit for the state. Sallust's Lepidus is accused by Sulla of desiring war, but overturns the accusation by claiming his actions were done in order to reclaim the rights of peace (*Hist.* i.55.16: *bellum cupiens, qui iura pacis repeto*). Lepidus goes on, in turn, to accuse Sulla of a false display of *pax et concordia* as a concealment for his wickedness (*Hist.* i.55.24: *nisi forte specie concordiae et pacis, quae sceleri et parricidio suo nomina indidit*). In Lepidus' presentation, Sulla through his actions had perverted the interpretation of peace, whilst he himself was restoring (*repeto*) real *pax* to the people. Philippus' speech, by way of a response to Lepidus' association with the ideals of *pax* and *libertas*, is a justification for the removal of Lepidus in order to re-establish *actual* peace, stressing the falsity of Lepidus' rhetoric of the restoration of *libertas* and peace:

an expectatis dum exercitu rursus admoto ferro atque flamma urbem invadat? quod multo propius est ab eo quo agitat statu, quam ex pace et concordia ad arma civilia. quae ille advorsum divina et humana omnia cepit, non pro sua aut quorum simulat iniuria, sed legum ac libertatis subvortundae. (Sall. *Hist.* i.77.10–11)

Or are you waiting for Lepidus to once again, with sword and fire, invade the city with an army? This is much closer to that condition in

⁶⁹ See Gerrish (forthcoming) for the *Histories* as a response to the rhetoric and rewriting of history by the triumvirs.

⁷⁰ Kriz (2001).

⁷¹ McGushin (1992) 132; Rosenblitt (2009) 15, 176–7, 223–43.

which he now finds himself than peace and harmony are to civil war. Which arms he has taken up against all divine and human affairs, not on account of his injuries or the injuries of those whom he pretends to represent, but in order to overturn our laws and liberty.

Rosenblitt has convincingly shown the importance of the rhetorical form of Lepidus' speech, which presents a voice independent from the author's, and even raises the possibility of challenging the writing of history. Criticism of Lepidus' actions are made clear in the narrative, but this does not lessen Lepidus' rhetoric against Sulla. Whilst Sallust appears to approve the judgement of Philippus, he presents the political complexities of the period and how this hinged on language.⁷² Sallust's juxtaposition of the diametrically opposed political positions of Lepidus and Philippus exposes the fallacy of debates surrounding *pax*. Both sides' use and manipulation of *pax* as well as *libertas* illustrate, for Sallust, the social decline of the Roman state.⁷³ His use of these terms in the historical speeches of 78 BC must, in part, reflect and comment on their use during the debates of the 40s. The theme of *bella civilia* (Sall. *Hist.* frag. 1.12) that was so central to the *Histories* would also have put contemporary readers in mind of the most recent conflicts. Furthermore, Sallust drew on the contemporary *Philippics* of Cicero for the rhetoric of Philippus.⁷⁴ Common usage did not necessary mean agreement, but rather only the centrality of a concept within the political debate for supremacy in the state.

Despite the prominent role of peace within the debates of the 40s, the concept could be and was rejected by politicians as a viable route to the restoration of the *res publica*. For the most part, rejecting peace was concerned with the position one's opponent had constructed for themselves through the language of peace. Sallust demonstrates how the understanding of peace within contemporary political language was very much dependent on the context of the discourse and the audience. Caesar's presentation of his victory within the state had promised peace, whose achievement was emphasized in 44 through the voting of the temple of Concordia Nova by the senate and the

⁷² Rosenblitt (2013); see also Rosenblitt (2009) 31–8; 173–294.

⁷³ Kriz (2001) 74–6.

⁷⁴ McGushin (1992) 18–19; Rosenblitt (2009) 279–94; Gerrish (forthcoming) argues that the *Histories* are a vehicle through which to examine the purpose and place of history within the triumviral regime.

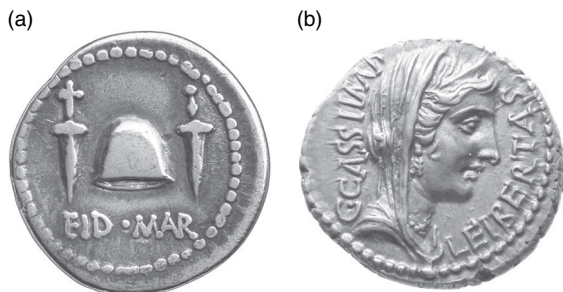


Fig. 2.5 (a) Reverse of a coin of Marcus Junius Brutus minted on the move in the East in summer 42 BC, depicting a freedman's cap (*pilleus*) between two daggers, symbolizing the achievement of *libertas* and tyrannicide on the specified date of 15 March (*EID. MAR.*) (RRC 508/3).

© Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

(b) Obverse of a coin of Gaius Cassius Longinus minted on the move in the East in 43/42 BC, depicting the head of *LEIBERTAS* (RRC 500/5).

© Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

personification of *Pax* on the coinage (Fig. 2.1).⁷⁵ Yet the reaction of the Republicans, headed by Brutus and Cassius, was a rejection of this peace, and a promotion of *libertas*, in opposition to Caesar's *pax*, dominated their rhetoric in both writing and coinage (Fig. 2.5).⁷⁶ The debates over accepting or rejecting *pax* as a means of stabilizing the state and negotiating the dynamics of politics in the 40s illustrate the politicized nature of the concept in the struggle in the dying Republic.

THE VICTORY OF PEACE

The debates around the use and meaning of *pax* illustrate the role it played in the negotiation of power and control within the state. Not only was *pax* conceptually linked with victory, but it also became, through the re-orientation of both concepts, a means of achieving victory. We have already seen how Caesar's manipulation of reconciliation and peace negotiations was a route to victory. At the same time

⁷⁵ For the temple of Concordia Nova, see Dio Cass. 44.4.4.

⁷⁶ Cic. *Fam.* 11.2, 11.3, *Ad Brut.* 1.1, 1.16; see *Ad Brut.* 2.5 for Cicero's emphatic association of *libertas* and *pax*: 'I was all for freedom, which is nothing without peace. I thought peace could be achieved through war and arms.' On the *libertas* coinage of Brutus and Cassius, see RRC 498, 499, 500/2–5, 501, 502/1–3, 505 and 508/3; see also Fears (1981b) 869–75; Arena (2012) 41–3, 76, 217.

Caesar's victories in both external and civil war were promoted in terms of Rome's *imperium*, *libertas*, religious propriety, and peace and harmony for the state. Such ideas resonate in the *pro Marcello*, the speech by which Cicero claims to return to public life (*Marcell.* 1–3; *Fam.* 4.4). In one respect, Cicero buys into Caesar's rhetoric of redefined victory and peace:

ipsam victoriam vicisse videris, cum ea, quae illa erat adepta victis remisisti; nam cum ipsius victoriae condicione omnes victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae iudicio conservati sumus. recte igitur unus invictus es, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est.

(Cic. *Marcell.* 12).

You seem to have vanquished Victory herself, since you have surrendered to the vanquished all that Victory had gained. For when all of us vanquished were undone by the terms of victory itself, we were preserved by the judgement of your clemency. Therefore, you are rightly unconquerable, whereby even the stipulation and force of Victory herself have been conquered.

Cicero's acceptance of Caesar's rhetoric of his victory serves as a confirmation of the state of affairs achieved—namely, as Cicero hoped for, the revival of the *res publica* through the restoration of those who advocated peace.⁷⁷ He stressed Caesar's supposed desire not to conquer his fellow Romans: 'The one who indeed, as victor, values the advocates of peace surely declares that he would have rather not fought than conquered' (*Marcell.* 15: *qui vero victor pacis auctores diligit, is profecto declarat se maluisse non dimicare quam vincere*). Cicero takes up the language of the victor, yet still emphasizes the centrality of *pax* in his conceptualization of the *res publica*. It is plausible that this speech served as a reminder, if not a warning, of the stance Caesar had promoted during the war and in his *de bello civili*.⁷⁸

The promotion of peace remained central to the language and self-presentation of those claiming to restore the *res publica*. The very formation of the triumvirate was based on the agreement and

⁷⁷ Cic. *Fam.* 4.4.3. In *Phil.* 5.38–9 Cicero contrasted Lepidus' *clementia* and service to the state with the actions of Caesar.

⁷⁸ See Picone (2008) for the *Pro Marcello* as diffusing a potentially damaging situation for the stability of the state. On the purpose of the *Pro Marcello*: Cipriani (1977); Dyer (1990); Lassandro (1991); MacKendrick (1995) 404–21; Winterbottom (2002); Konstan (2005); Marchese (2008).

cooperation of Roman officials, and the negotiation of their power once again recast the relationship between peace and victory. After the treaty of Brundisium in late 40, Antony and Octavian both minted coins to demonstrate their union, though they did not choose exactly the same imagery. Antony's coinage depicts their reconciliation through portrait issues of himself and Octavian, whilst Octavian's coinage also included the caduceus, most notably held by the hands of *fides* surrounded by the names of *M. ANTON*. And *C. CAESAR IMP*. These issues are not in disagreement, but do illustrate the different versions of the agreement. The signs and symbols of concord and peace are explicitly used by Octavian, but not Antony. The context of display is important here. The reconciliation in Italy in 40 had been driven by the demands of the veterans (App. *B Civ.* 5.59), and their support for the establishment of peace is illustrated by the rededication of a monument to Concordia on 12 October 40 in the veteran colony of Casinum, most likely founded the previous year as part of the triumviral settlement of 41.⁷⁹ Likewise, it would be through the demands of Italy that Antony and Octavian would reconcile with Sextus Pompeius at Misenum in 39, and be a cause of peace celebrations (App. *B Civ.* 5.74). The rhetoric of peace and reconciliation was predominantly addressed to an Italian audience and the victory celebrations of 40 played out the role of peace within a ritual that was physically rooted in the city of Rome.⁸⁰ The displays of 40/39 illustrate the normalization and indeed victory of peace to describe relations between Romans.

The application of *pax* during the civil conflicts and debates of the 40s offers insight into the fluidity and malleability of political language, and how central political concepts were reorientated in order to articulate the relationships of power, not between Rome and external states, but between Romans themselves. By the end of the 40s, the achievement of *pax* enabled the leading politicians to commemorate their successes without having to refer directly to any victory over fellow Romans. *Pax* as an expression, at least nominally, of equality and stability of relations emerged as a necessary expression and explanation of the crises of the Republic. Through the

⁷⁹ See n. 4. Coarelli (2007) 40 argues that Casinum was most likely elevated from a municipality to a colony in 41; cf. Brunt (1971) 350.

⁸⁰ For the display and location of the triumph, see Versnel (1970) 94–131; Beard (2007) 72–106; Ostenberg (2009a); on the triumviral victory ceremonies, see Lange (2013) 80–6.

language of war and peace, the meaning of the *res publica* had been re-evaluated and redefined. The victory of *pax* in 40 BC would lead to the eventual removal of even the need for an ostensible partner in the negotiation for peace. The accomplishment of *pax*, without an opponent, became a central tenet of Octavian's victory rhetoric in the following decades.

Peace over Land and Sea

*bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu
Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores.
nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos
aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae,
eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,
et Ptolomaei litora capta Phari,
aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem
septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,
aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;
te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,
et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput.*

(Prop. 2.1.25–36)

I would recall the wars and deeds of your Caesar, and you [Maecenas] would be my second concern after great Caesar. For how many times I would sing of Mutina or Philippi, the civic sepulchre, or the naval battles of the Sicilian rout, and the ruined fires of the ancient Etruscan race, and the captured shores of Ptolemaic Pharos, or I would sing of Egypt and the Nile, when dragged into the city he went weeping with his seven captive streams, or the necks of kings hung round with gold chains, and the Actian prows on the Sacra via. My Muse would always weave you into those contests of arms, your mind loyal in taking up as in setting aside peace.

Propertius' *recusatio* of writing epic verses about Octavian's achievements from 43–30 BC reflects, in part, the uneasy tension between the representations of the recent foreign and civil conflicts.¹ The account

¹ The date of *Elegies* 2 is agreed to be between 28–25 BC: Richardson (1977) 9–10; Camps (1997) 1; Fedeli (2005) 21.

of the wars is divided into three sections, separated by *aut . . . aut . . .*. The first wars are clearly understood as civil wars (*quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos*). The civil conflicts against the Antonians at Perusia (*gentis Etruscae*) and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily (*Siculae fugae*) are grouped together with the conquest of Alexandria (*Ptolomaei Phari*). No explicit reference to civil war is made, although the destruction of the Etruscans hearths hints at the sacrilegious nature of the conflict.² The final section refers again to the conquest of Egypt and the battle of Actium, but now conceived through the triumphal displays at Rome, rather than the harsh realities of the actual wars.³ Propertius presents a spectrum of civil and foreign wars, all of which are associated with the making and rejecting of *pax*. The phrase *sumpta et posita pax* plays on the conventional language of the declaration of war and the phrase *sumere bellum/arma*. The juxtaposition of *bellum* and *pax* in such procedures is articulated by Livy in his account of Rome's embassy to the Carthaginians: 'we bring you war and peace: pick whichever one you want' (Livy 21.18.13: *vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet sumite*).⁴ Of course, an aspect of Propertius' phrasing is for poetic effect, neatly encapsulating in the alliteration the idea of how the decade comprised periods of peace (*sumpta pace*) and periods of war (*posita pace*). However, this phrase also stresses a shift from the focus on war (*bellaque resque*) to the eventual, if fluctuating, assumption of peace. The removal of *bellum* from the formula in Propertius' presentation throws the emphasis on *pax* and its role within triumphal discourse in the aftermath of civil war.

In many respects the commemorations during the 30s and early 20s were concerned with legitimizing power as a consequence of civil war. The ovations of 40 had reorientated the ritual of the triumph to fit the context, adapting the 'bloodless' victory for the purpose of commemorating peace. At the same time, such usage may reveal a lack of developed iconography for *pax*, in comparison to that of victory. The triumphal ceremony continued to be used as a means of articulating success and achievement in a period of instability and a continued power struggle. It is clear from both the literary and epigraphic records that Octavian's triple triumph of 29 was presented

² Stahl (1985) 165; Fedeli (2005) 68.

³ Butler-Barber (1933) 188–90; Camps (1997) 69–70; Fedeli (2005) 69–71.

⁴ Camps (1997) 70; Fedeli (2005).

as a victory over foreign opponents.⁵ The deferred celebration of his Dalmatian victory of 34 meant that the first day of the triumph was a show of the defeat of foreigners, setting up the backdrop for the commemorations of Alexandria and Actium to be also seen through the lens of foreign conflict.⁶ Furthermore, the triumphs emphasized Octavian's victories *terra marique*. Pompey had, of course, triumphed over the *orbis terrarum* in 61, parading among his many trophies a colossal representation of the inhabited world (Dio Cass. 37.21.2). Caesar had also presented, through his five triumphs in 46–45, the vast extent of his conquests over the world. The display of Octavian's triple triumphs depicted victories over both land, through the parade and representation of conquered peoples and foreign rivers (Verg. *Aen.* 8.714–28), and sea, through the ships and prows from Actium (Prop. 2.1.34). The three days culminated in the display of the wealth of Egypt and an effigy of Cleopatra carried in the triumph (Dio Cass. 51.21.7–8), which stood as a symbol of foreign power against which Octavian had triumphed.

Even so, there were still potential concerns with the civil war aspects of the victories of 31–30, most notably in more permanent memorials. The *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* preserve the entry for 29:

*Imp(erator) Caesar de Dalma[t]is Eid(ibus) Sext(ilibus) / triumph(avit),
palnam dedit.*

*Imp(erator) Caesar ex A[egy]pto XIII k(alendas) Sept(embres) / triumph
<h>avit (Inscr. Ital. XIII 1.342–3)*

Imperator Caesar triumphed over the Dalmatians on 13 August; he dedicated his (victory) palm.

Imperator Caesar triumphed over Egypt on 15 August.

There is no entry for the Actian triumph. One possibility is simply that the stone-carver missed out the Actian triumph due to carelessness and the triple repetition of *Imp. Caesar*. Certainly, the carving of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* is far less regular and polished than its Capitoline counterpart. The letter sizes across the fragments we have

⁵ Dio Cass. 51.19.1–3; 51.21; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.343. See also Suet. *Aug.* 22; Livy *Per.* 113.

⁶ Gurval (1995) 25–8 on the martial aspect of the 'Illyrian' triumph. On the foreign aspect of the three days of triumph: Dio Cass. 51.21.4: 'as if the defeated had all been foreigners' (ὥς καὶ ἀλλοφύλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἡττηθέντων ὄντων). See Östenberg (2009a) 130–1, 142–4, 145–8 for the display of foreign hostages in the triumph.

vary considerably from entry to entry.⁷ Even within the two entries already cited we can observe the lack of uniformity in presentation: in the first entry *triumphavit* is abbreviated to allow *palmmam dedit* to fit at the end of the line, whilst in the second entry *triumph<h>avit* is given in full, but the carver has missed out the *h* and there is no *palmmam dedit*. Another possibility is that the Actian and Egyptian triumphs have been elided into one. It is plausible that the two celebrations were understood as a twofold display of Octavian's victories over Cleopatra (at least as the formal enemy).⁸ The nature of the Actian triumph was to celebrate a specific naval battle, presented as a triumph over Cleopatra (Dio Cass. 51.19.1), whilst the final day was to celebrate the subjugation of the whole of Egypt, wherein Cleopatra's role was both as the enemy leader and as the embodiment of the foreign power of the Egyptian kingdom.⁹ The triumph over Egypt was certainly easier to conceptualize as a 'foreign' victory than the single battle at Actium. If the author of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* was deliberately silent on the Actian triumph, it may reflect an implicit association of the two triumphs as being over Cleopatra, and therefore Egypt, or, as Beard has suggested, it may illustrate the removal of the battle with the greatest association of civil war from the records. The lack of *palmmam dedit* in the entry for the Egyptian triumph may indicate that Octavian did not 'dedicate his victory palm' on that occasion.¹⁰ There is space on the stone for *palmmam dedit* to be inscribed. However, whilst it is tempting to associate the lack of a palm with the potential 'cover-up' of the civil war battle of Actium, we should note that the *palmmam dedit* is recorded for Octavian's ovation *ex Sicilia*, which was in fact a civil conflict with Sextus Pompeius. Furthermore, it would be strange, although we cannot preclude it, if Octavian did not dedicate his victory palm for the victory over Egypt. If the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* leave us uncertain as to their intended presentation of the triumphs of 29, they do at least hint at the issues that may have been encountered in the creation of permanent records concerned with the victories of civil war.

⁷ Gurval (1995) 32, 55 n. 23; Bastien (2007) 55.

⁸ Gurval (1995) 32–3.

⁹ Dio. Cass. 51.21.7–8. Livy *Per.* 133 has the third triumph as specifically *de Cleopatra*, as opposed to Egypt (Dio Cass.; *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani*) or Alexandria (Suet. *Aug.* 22, 41.1).

¹⁰ Beard (2007) 303 n. 32 and 304 fig. 37; she also points out that there is uncertainty as to whether this omission was deliberate or a mistake.

Caesar had been openly criticized for his depictions of the demise of his Republican opponents during his African triumph of 46 (App. *B Civ.* 2.101). After his defeat, Antony was very consciously removed from the celebrations, so that the subjugation of Romans was not commemorated (Dio Cass. 51.19.5: 'For neither on that occasion, nor previously, did they mention Antony by name or the other Romans who had been vanquished with him, and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat'). Dio also indicates that there was a deliberate effort by the senate to remove Antony's monuments and also to delete his birthday and name from the records. These acts, whilst claiming to remove Antony from memory, left behind physical marks of his hostility towards the *res publica*. The two different aspects—the glorification of Octavian and the *damnatio memoriae* of Antony—are apparent in several of the *Fasti* records. 1 August was celebrated as a day for Spes, because Octavian freed the *res publica* from the most bitter danger (*tristissimum periculum*),¹¹ whilst Antony's birthday, 14 January, was condemned: *vitiosus*.¹² The victory commemorations at Rome in 29 comprised both the honours to Octavian and the highly visible removal of Antony. By removing Antony, the ostensible message of civil war was one of silence; yet such a physical deletion also allowed the senate and Octavian to play on the competition between Octavian and Antony. As Antony's name was carved out of monuments, such as the Caesarian Rostra and the restoration of the statues of Sulla and Pompey to the platform—which Antony had been responsible for (Dio Cass. 43.49.1: τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφῆς)—Octavian's name was being commemorated in the display of the Actian prows and the dedication of the Tarentine Victory.¹³ Octavian was to be seen and understood not only as the victor in a foreign war for the safety of the state, but also as the victor in his struggle with Antony for control of the *res publica*. As the debates during the civil wars had shifted the idea of peace from an association with foreign policy to focus on internal politics, so too, as a consequence, did the language of victory shift to include not just foreign conquests but also control of the state.

It was within this context that peace was advanced as part of the rhetoric of victory and power, and indeed was a means through which to suppress explicit reference to civil conflict, without necessarily

¹¹ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.24–5; see also Dio Cass. 51.19.6.

¹² *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.158–9. ¹³ Dio Cass. 51.19.2, 22.1.

having to translate it into the terminology of foreign war. Octavian's defeat of Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus in 36 was celebrated by an ovation over Sicily (*ex Sicilia*) rather than Sextus himself and by the erection of a *columna rostrata* in the Roman forum to commemorate his naval success.¹⁴ Appian records that the column was accompanied by an inscription which celebrated Octavian's restoration of peace by land and sea (*B Civ.* 5.130). What is striking about this monument is that it harnesses a traditional display of naval victory, whilst the inscription explains victory without any reference to an opponent. The focus is on the accomplishment of victory by means of peace as an expression of Roman power, virtually as an absolute. Such a concept, which was also expressed in the earlier *lex Gabinia Calpurnia* of 58, was to become a central tenet of Augustan rhetoric, with power expressed not in relation to an opponent but as the achievement of *pax terra marique*.

Tacitus cynically tied the *pax* achieved after the battle of Actium to Octavian's position as sole leader of the Roman state: 'after the war at Actium it was in the interests of peace that all power be conferred on one man' (*Hist.* 1.1: *postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit*). Indeed, the achievement of peace celebrated in 29, like that of 36, was, in certain respects, different from *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the section 'Visions and Versions of *Pax*', *pax* during the civil wars of the late Republic was interpreted and understood in a variety of ways, and was a part of the rhetoric that existed concerning the security of the state and the positions of the leading politicians within it. Whilst the concept of *pax* continued to be a part of this rhetoric, in 36 and 29 it was not made with anyone, but was celebrated as a condition of empire. In the context of waging foreign and civil wars contiguously, there was a clear push to stress the foreign components of campaigns and de-emphasize any signs of civil conflict between state officials.¹⁵ Octavian's victory celebrations of both 36 and 29 indicate how an expression of *pax*, without an opponent

¹⁴ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.86–7 and 342–3. See Welch (2012) 261–89 for the conflict between Octavian and Sextus; also Pelling (1996) 34–6.

¹⁵ On the nature of the triumph in civil war, see Lange (2013); also Lange (2009) 49–72 and 79–93, esp. 85 on the perception of the Actian and Alexandrian battles as both civil and foreign wars; *contra* Gurval (1995) 15–16, 28 on Augustus' perception of Actium.

to make peace with, was becoming part of the rhetoric of power over an empire.

THE RHETORIC OF *TERRA MARIQUE* AND *ORBIS TERRARUM*

A centre tenet of Augustus' *Res Gestae*—a document contained within his will, which gave an account of his management of the empire (Suet. *Aug.* 101)—was the extent of the *imperium* of the Roman people. The opening sentence of the document, as published in the copies found in the Greek East, provides a summary of the content and purpose of the whole:

rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit, et impensarum quas in rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabus aeneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum. (RG, heading)

Below is a copy of the achievements of the divine Augustus, by which means he subjugated the whole world to the command of the Roman people, and of the expenses, which he spent on the state and the Roman people, as inscribed on two bronze pillars which are set up at Rome.

Rome's engagement with ideas of imperial rule over the known world can be traced back to the mid-Republic, when the state was becoming a serious military and naval presence on the international stage. Momigliano has demonstrated how an awareness, in the Hellenistic world, of Rome as an international power is apparent in a work of a third-century Alexandrian poet, Lycophron of Chalcis, who in his *Alexandra* referred to the Romans as taking hold of the 'sceptre and monarchy of land and sea (γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης)'.¹⁶ Rome's position in the Mediterranean world was characterized in familiar terms of Hellenistic sovereignty, and her complete dominance of this over the course of the second century would lead the Greek historian Polybius to examine how Rome had come to bring the whole *oikoumenē* ('inhabited world') under her command (Polyb. 1.1.5; 1.3.10; 3.1.4; 6.50.6). Rome herself absorbed the language of control over

¹⁶ Momigliano (1942a); Lycoph. *Alex.* 1229–30.

land and sea and the known world into her self-presentation and interactions with other polities, most notably in expressing the extent and reach of alliances and friendships.¹⁷

The subjugation of vast portions of the Mediterranean under the *imperium* of Pompey in the 60s enforced and perpetuated the idea of Rome's control over the inhabited world. Cicero declared that Pompey had achieved a *clarissima victoria terra marique* and that his three triumphs (over Africa, Spain, and the East) bore witness to the fact that the whole *orbis terrarum* was under the control of Roman *imperium* (*Pro Balb.* 16; cf. *de Imp.* 56). Indeed, the victory of Rome over the world was symbolized in the representation of the *oikoumenē* as the culmination of the trophies and personifications of conquered peoples of Pompey's triumph of 61. Such ideology was reiterated on a coin of 56 (RRC 426/4), which depicted on the reverse a central globe surrounded by three small wreaths (representing Pompey's three triumphs over Africa, Spain, and the East) and an ear of corn and an aplustre (symbolic of his mastery of land and sea). The globe is surmounted by a larger wreath, most likely emphasizing the message of the dominance of Roman *imperium* over the *orbis terrarum*.¹⁸ In the Greek-speaking world, the presentation of Pompey's achievement was still articulated in relation to the *oikoumenē*. However, these concepts were orientated around the idea of salvation and guardianship. An inscription set up by the community of Mytilene records Pompey as the saviour and founder, who destroyed those who had seized the *oikoumenē* through the wars he had fought by land and sea.¹⁹ Similarly, an inscription set up by the people of Miletropolis, near Cyzicus in Asia Minor, celebrated Pompey as the saviour and benefactor of all of Asia and the overseer of land and sea.²⁰ Pompey himself appears to have engaged with this Greek framework for the presentation of power, in a dedicatory inscription recorded in Diodorus 40.4. The passage, most likely a transcript of a Greek inscription set up in the East, presents Roman *imperium* in terms of the *oikoumenē*, justifying the expansion of Rome's leadership to meet

¹⁷ App. *Pun.* 54 (Scipio's conditions of alliance and friendship to the Carthaginians, 201 BC); 1. *Macc.* 8.23 (treaty of Judaea and Rome, 161 BC); IG XII 3.173 (treaty of sovereign equality between Rome and Astypalaea, 105 BC).

¹⁸ Östenberg (2009a) 284–8; see also Bastien (2007) 419–20.

¹⁹ Syll³ 751. ²⁰ ILS 9459.

the boundaries of the world in terms of the liberation of the *oikoumenē* from war and subjugation to foreign kings.²¹

The various representations of Roman imperialism both at Rome and in the Greek-speaking world in relation to Pompey's eastern victories provide a framework and context within which the earliest expressions of Augustan imperialism may be examined.²² Returning to the opening of the *Res Gestae*, it is noteworthy that the emphasis on the subjugation of the *orbis terrarum* is absent from the heading in the Greek version of the text, although all subsequent references to the *orbis terrarum* and *terra marique* are translated fully as ἡ οἰκουμένη and κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν (RG 3.1, 13.1, 26.1). The avoidance of the claim to Roman sovereignty over the known world in the opening sentence of the Greek version stresses the different audiences in relation to a presentation of Roman imperialism to which the different versions of Augustus' account might speak.²³ Indeed, as briefly discussed in Chapter 1, in the section 'Perceptions of Peace', the differences between a Roman and a Greek-speaking audience are particularly striking as regards the presentation of Roman imperialism and peace. In *Res Gestae* 13, Augustus records the closing of the gates of Janus three times *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parata victoriis pax* ('when peace was won through victories, over land and sea throughout the entire empire of the Roman people'). Here, he joins the idea of control over land and sea with the accomplishment of peace because of the victories he achieved. The Greek text explains the closing of the gates simply because the Romans brought peace over the land and sea (εἰρηνευομένης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης), without any reference to victory.

²¹ Vogel-Weidemann (1985).

²² In several respects the Greek *res gestae* of Pompey (Diod. Sic. 40.4) may offer a model for Augustus' own *Res Gestae*. Although the intended original audience of both inscriptions is quite different (Greek-speaking communities of Asia Minor for Pompey's inscription and a Latin-speaking audience at Rome for Augustus' inscription), the ideology of boundaries of Rome's *imperium* matching the boundaries of the world, the idea of the *oikoumenē* and everything within Oceanus brought under the protection of Rome, the importance of the finances of the empire, and even the subjugation of nine kings are common features in both documents.

²³ See Scheid (2007) xxix–xxxiv on the translation of the Latin document into Greek and the omission in the Greek versions of certain phrases and words found in the Latin text; see also Cooley (2009) 27–8.

The association of Roman *imperium* with the accomplishment of peace over the world was a concept that had already been explored as a consequence of Pompey's eradication of pirates in the Mediterranean and his reorganization of the East after his defeat of Mithridates. The *lex Gabinia Calpurnia*, already discussed in Chapter 1, in the section 'Pax in the Landscape of the Republic', drew associations between peace over the *orbis terrarum* and Rome's management of empire: 'with the *res publica* administrated most beautifully, with *imperium* amplified, with peace accomplished throughout the whole world'.²⁴ What distinguishes this late Republican rhetoric from that of the *Res Gestae* is, once again, the absence of any explicit idea of victory. Given that the law is concerned with Rome's recognition of the special status of the sacred island of Delos, this is hardly surprising. Rome's ability to allow Delos to be freed and immune from taxation is presented as a direct consequence of the expanse of *imperium* and the conferment of *pax* over the world. The silence of an explicit Republican association of peace won over the world through victories does not preclude that such a concept existed. Nevertheless, the ideology expressed in the phrase *terra marique esset parta victoriis* *pax* must be understood not just within the context and application of sovereignty over the *oikoumenē* as expressed in the Hellenistic and late Republic periods, but also as a consequence of how such ideas were employed to justify power in the aftermath of civil war. Whilst we might view the *Res Gestae* as the culmination of an Augustan ideology, we can trace in its language earlier instances of an imperial rhetoric, where the concept of sovereignty over the *oikoumenē* was reworked and applied to the accomplishment of peace in the context of civil war.

The Sicilian Prelude

The negotiations between Antony and Octavian in 40 had been celebrated as the achievement of peace between the two leaders. Despite this, Sextus Pompeius, who had control of Sicily and a fleet under his command as *praefectus classis et orae maritimae*, presented

²⁴ CIL I² 2500: [*re publica / pulcer*]rume adm[i]nistrata imperio am[p]lificato [*p*]ace per orb[em] terrarum confecta]; Nicolet et al. (1980); Moreau (1982) 100; Richardson (2008) 104.

the triumvirs with another threat to their promoted vision of stability. Blockades on the corn ships supplying Rome resulted in famine and rioting in the city. In the spring of the following year, a peace between the two triumvirs and Sextus was negotiated at Misenum. There were very real hopes that this was to be an end to civil war and lasting peace: the consulship was designated for the years 34–31, with the expectation that the elections would be returned to control of the people after that. Furthermore, the negotiation was cemented by the betrothal of Pompeia, the daughter of Sextus and granddaughter of Libo, and Marcellus, the nephew of Octavian and stepson of Antony.²⁵ Despite the universal acclaim for peace (App. *B Civ.* 5.74; Dio Cass. 48.37), by 38 Sextus and Octavian were at war and the struggle for control of the West was only resolved with Sextus' defeat at the hands of Agrippa at Naulochus in 36. The conflict between Octavian and Sextus, like that between Octavian and Antony, was one which challenged the legitimacy of each other's position in the state, and sought to justify their own rhetoric of the restoration of the *res publica*.²⁶

What is clear from the later accounts of the period is the public resentment of the conflicts of both a civil and foreign nature, and the campaign for Sicily offered one opportunity to promote the end of the fighting. Appian's narrative indicates that the Sicilian victory was presented as the end of the civil wars (5.132), and even concluded his commentary with the death of Sextus in 35, instead of the battle of Actium, as he had originally outlined in his introduction, possibly indicating that, in his own interpretation, the final struggle for power between Antony and Octavian was a different affair from the *staseis* that had shattered the framework of the *res publica*.²⁷ At least in 36, without the hindsight of the period of civil war in its totality down to 30 BC, it is perhaps not hard to see how, with Antony in the eastern Mediterranean planning his campaign in Armenia, the termination of fighting between Roman armies in the West could be conceptualized as the end of civil conflict, and the triumph of Octavian's position as

²⁵ App. *B Civ.* 5.73; Dio Cass. 48.38; Welch (2012) 238–51; see also Welch (2002) 49–54.

²⁶ App. *B Civ.* 5.143; for a reappraisal of Sextus Pompeius as a defender of the *res publica*, see Welch (2012).

²⁷ App. *B Civ.* 1.6; Bucher (2000); Osgood (2006) 347–8; Welch (2012) 32–3. For Appian, the *Bellum Civile* illustrated the achievement of harmony (*ἁμόνοια*) in monarchical rule in the wake of the civil discord (*στράσις*) of the Republic framework.

the would-be restorer of the *res publica*. In speeches that he delivered at Rome on his return from Sicily, and then published and disseminated as pamphlets, Octavian claimed to have brought an end to civil war and restored peace (App. *B Civ.* 5.130: κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνηρημένων). Yet whilst the aspect of civil war was not denied, it was not lingered upon either. Indeed, Appian records that Octavian burned any written evidence about the civil unrest (5.132). The focus was quickly shifted onto foreign concerns, recasting the conflict as a struggle to restore peace, which was now threatened by external dangers. The need to retain an army for any potential or future engagement to determine control of the state necessitated a campaign with which to occupy his men. Octavian used the implicit threat from the Illyrians to the peace which had been established in the wake of civil war:

καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπανμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοῦς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην. (App. *B Civ.* 5.128)

He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty.²⁸

Civil war might be nominally at an end, but the memorials and honours awarded had somehow to deal with Octavian's defeat of an individual who had promoted himself as a defender of the *res publica* and was strongly associated with the quality of *pietas*.²⁹ The award of an ovation as opposed to a triumph for the victory over Sicily has a number of possible implications. Whilst Cooley has interpreted this as a consequence of victory in civil war, Lange argues against allusions to civil conflict, instead focusing on the imagery of the conflict being a servile and piratical one, as Augustus himself would later emphasize (*RG* 25.1).³⁰ In the extant contemporary memorials there is no explicit reference to either civil or servile war. This is not to deny the possibility that allusions to both types of conflict were present in the commemorations of 36—Sicily's association with servile wars was

²⁸ White (1913). ²⁹ Welch (2012) 15–33; 291–312.

³⁰ Cooley (2009) 121; Lange (2013) 81–2, *contra* Welch (2012) 294–8, who argues that the initial campaign to portray Sextus as a pirate was unsuccessful and was only later revisited; see also Grenade (1950) 42–4; Gabba (1956) 202. See Lange (2016) ch. 5 on the development and use of the triumph during civil war.

well known and the civil nature of the fighting was inescapable. Rather, what was stressed was a claim to legitimate control over the Mediterranean expressed in terms of peace. The most recent ovations of 44 and 40 had used the ritual of the 'bloodless victory' (*incruenta victoria*) to provide a framework for celebrating achievements without opponents, or in the case of 40 explicit reconciliation between Romans. In certain respects, the ovation of 36 was another such display of peace expressed through the language of victory, in order to suppress or perhaps subsume ideas of civil war into the broad brushstrokes of *pax terra marique*. The lack of specificity enabled Octavian to claim much whilst admitting very little. Tacitus would later reveal what he saw as the insincerity of such celebrations of peace, labelling it a *pax cruenta* ('bloody peace') in stark contrast to the *incruenta victoria* that was claimed, and showing the place that the concept had come to occupy in the expression of power and triumph (*Ann.* 1.10). Nevertheless, given the desire for stability in the 30s, it was a plausible aim of Octavian to shape an image of the pacification of the Mediterranean through the reacquisition of a key strategic location for the control of the seas around Italy. The monumental display of the *columna rostrata* further stressed these concerns.

The column, erected in the Roman forum, was decorated with the captured ship prows from Octavian's naval victories and surmounted with a gold statue depicting him dressed as he had entered the city. The encompassing inscription proclaimed 'that the peace, for a long time disrupted by unrest, he restored by land and sea' (App. *B Civ.* 5.130: ὅτι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν). Appian presents the inscription as an indirect statement, though to what extent he is offering a direct quotation of the text is unclear; in the very least it is an incomplete presentation.³¹ We would expect to find Octavian's name either as the subject of the sentence, for example *Imp. Caesar divi f. pacem turbatam terra marique restituit*, or as the indirect object of the honorific monument, for example *S. P. Q. R. Imp. Caesari divi f. quod pacem turbatam terra marique restituit*.³² Appian's account includes the verb στασιάζω,

³¹ Appian quotes inscriptions six times in his works: *B Civ.* 1.97 (x2), 2.86, 4.41, 5.130; *Mith.* 117.

³² For contemporary inscriptions with Octavian as the subject, see, e.g., *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.87, frag. XL (*Fasti Triumphales* entry for 40 BC); *ILGR* 158 (Nicopolis, c.29 BC);

which he has used from the very start of his *Bellum Civile* to articulate the unrest within the Roman state.³³ Whilst this does point to civil conflict, the inscription stresses the reason for the honorific statue atop the column, decorated with the captured rams: *pax terra marique*. In this respect the inscription served as an explanatory text to the actual honour awarded to Octavian, which was the monument.³⁴ The gilded statue atop the column, decorated with captured rams, spoke of naval success and victory. This message was further perpetuated on the coinage, where the *columna rostrata* with a nude statue and accompanied by the legend *IMP. CAESAR*, was depicted along with the bust of Octavian laureate on the obverse (*RIC* 1² Augustus 271).³⁵

This display of naval victory did not stand in isolation, but was the latest addition to rostral dedications at the western end of the Roman forum, dating back to 338 BC and the confiscation of Antium's fleet, which furnished the speaker's platform with bronze rams (*Livy* 8.14.12; cf. *Varro Ling.* 5.32.155; *Flor.* 1.5). Most pertinent for Octavian's monument was the *columna rostrata* of C. Duilius (*cos.* 260). This monument commemorated Duilius as the first recipient of a naval triumph for his defeat of the Carthaginian fleet and army at Mylae, in Sicily, and was set up in the forum, near the altar to Vulcan, at the foot of the Capitol and overlooking the Rostra, Comitium, curia, and *via Sacra*.³⁶ The inscription commemorates Duilius' victories

as the indirect object, see, e.g., *ILS* 8893 (Dalmatia, c.36 BC); *ILS* 81 (Rome, 29 BC). For the possible use of *turbata*, see *CIL* VI 41024 = *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.83: '*rem p(ublicam) turbatam / seditionibus*' (elegium of Marius, Forum Augustum c.2 BC, also set up at Arretium).

³³ *App. B Civ.* 1.1: 'Ρωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρηρῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν' ('for the Romans, the people and the senate were often in dispute with each other concerning the enactment of the laws and the cancellation of debts, or the division of land or the election of magistrates'); cf. 1.54, 1.85, 1.90, 2.47, 2.92, 3.53, 3.61, 3.86, 5.30, 5.128, 5.130.

³⁴ On the problematic nature of categorizing inscriptions as 'honorific', see Cooley (2012) 145.

³⁵ See Koortbojian (2013) 205–7 on the debate about the statue on the column. See Gurval (1995) 50–2, 64–5 on the issue of dating coin types with the legends *CAESAR DIVI F.* (conventionally 36–29 BC) and *IMP. CAESAR* (conventionally 29–27 BC); Suspène (forthcoming) convincingly argues that these two legends are part of the same title: *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F.* and belong to the same period of 38–28 BC.

³⁶ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.13 (elegium in forum Augustum); *Plin. HN* 34.20; *Sil.* 6.663–9; *Quint. Inst.* 1.7.12; *Serv. Georg.* 3.29; Picard (1957) 137–40, esp. 138; Zanker (1988) 41–2; Kondratieff (2004); Roller (2009) 220–3. Kondratieff (2004) 8–9 and n. 31 points out that Servius' identification *in rostris* must be a result of the removal of the Rostra from the Comitium to its Caesarian location at the west end of the forum.

against both Cathage's land forces and fleet, and lists the amount and quantity of spoils he brought back to Rome (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.69). Only the inscription of this monument survives, although this itself appears to be an Augustan restoration (made in Carrara marble) of the third-century text.³⁷ The Augustan date indicates an interest and concern to maintain or indeed refashion the monument of Duilius. It is certainly tempting to draw direct parallels with Octavian's own *columna rostrata*, particularly as Duilius' triumph was *de Sicul(eis) et classe Poenica*, and both he and Agrippa achieved victories at Mylae in the fight for control of Sicily.³⁸ Whilst the approximate location of Duilius' monument is known from both literary and epigraphic sources, and the find-spot of the honorific inscription (at the foot of the Capitoline, in the vicinity of the Rostra), the original location of Octavian's column is unknown beyond the forum space. Nevertheless, it is highly plausible that it too stood in relation to the speakers' platform at the west end of the forum, given the relocation of four rostral columns of Augustus to the Capitoline by Domitian (*Serv. Georg.* 3.29), and since the Rostra was the traditional place for the dedication and display of monuments to men who had served the *res publica*.³⁹

For this relocation of the Rostra, see Dio Cass. 43.49.1; Coarelli (1985) 239, 244; Coarelli (1999b) 213; Claridge (2010) 85.

³⁷ For an Augustan date, see Solin (1981) 113; Bleckmann (2002) 119–21; see also Chioffi (1993); Shelmeyer (2002) 221.

³⁸ The presence of Duilius' *elogium* in the forum Augustum is not surprising given his position as the first naval *triumphator* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.13), but it does indicate his continued relevance to Augustus' later programme. Shelmeyer (2002) 221 has suggested that Octavian set up a second column commemorating Duilius' naval victory at the time of his restoration of the first. This is based on the testimony of Servius (*Georg.* 3.29), who refers to two columns of Duilius (and a total of four Augustan columns), one on the Rostra and the other in the entranceway of the Circus. Shelmeyer's suggestion must remain a speculation, and indeed the *elogium* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3.13) mentions only one column, which may indicate that the second mentioned by Servius was not original. There is also the issue of the date of the Augustan restoration. Augustus carried out restoration work to the speakers' platform (see Coarelli (1985) 252–5 for a date of between 29–14/9 BC; Giuliani and Verduchi (1987) 47 for a date of after 14 BC), and the restoration to Duilius' column may be tied to this event, rather than his own *columna rostrata*. If the restoration did occur after 36, the desire to emphasize the correlation between the two columns clearly remained strong, even after the restoration of the Rostra. For Agrippa's naval victory at Mylae against Sextus Pompeius, see App. *B Civ.* 5.106–8; Pelling (1996) 34–5; Welch (2012) 274–6.

³⁹ Cic. *Phil.* 9.16; cf. *Dig.* 1.2.2.43; Livy 8.13.9, 8.14.12; Vell. Pat. 2.61; Pliny *HN* 34.24; Dio Cass. 49.43.1; Shelmeyer (1999); Russell (2016) 62–6 on the creation of the Rostra as a political space.

In the display around the Rostra in 36, the column of Duilius was clearly meant to serve as a model for Octavian's display and provide an historical context of Rome's naval and land victories and the claim to mastery of the Mediterranean.⁴⁰ Octavian, like Duilius before him, could claim victories over both land and sea due to the nature of the campaign for control of Sicily. Unlike Duilius' monument, however, which named the enemy several times, Octavian's *columna rostrata* appears to have stressed the result of the conflict rather than the nature of it. Duilius' inscription expressed the benefit of securing Sicily as a necessary location for controlling the seas around Italy in terms of a naval triumph, displaying the captured wealth of Carthage, and money bestowed on the Roman *populus* as a gift. Based on the account of Appian, Octavian's inscription stressed the benefits of securing Sicily in terms of restoring stability to the state. Control of land and sea was presented as the means to securing peace.

In 49, Pompey had stated that whoever controlled the sea would ultimately win the war (Cic. *Att.* 10.8.4). His son had demonstrated what influence over state affairs he could wield through mastery of the coastal regions. The ability of Octavian and Agrippa to secure Sicily for their proclaimed triumviral cause of restoring the *res publica* enabled a very real rhetoric of the end of conflict in the West. The celebrations in 36 referred to the civil conflict, but only in terms of a condition that had been detrimental to the state, without specific mention of particular opponents. The stress in the celebrations fell on the state achieved, and was expressed in terms of mastery over land and sea.⁴¹

The focus during the 30s was ostensibly on foreign campaigns, with a series of triumphs held by both Octavian's and Antony's men.⁴² Both leaders were commanding armies against external threats to the *res publica*, though Octavian could claim greater success against the Dalmatians than Antony against the Parthians: in 34 he retrieved the lost standards and set them up at Rome in the following year (RG 29.1; App. *Ill.* 28; Dio Cass. 49.43.8). External threats continued to be emphasized. However, the political divide between the two men

⁴⁰ Roller (2009) 221–3 on the use of Duilius' as an exemplum for Octavian/Augustus.

⁴¹ On the importance of sea power in the conflicts of the late Republic, see Welch (2012) 23–5.

⁴² *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.86–7, 342–3, 568–70; Pelling (1996) 47; see Dio Cass. 49.42.3 for the influence of Antony and Octavian in negotiating and securing these triumphs.

continued. Their triumviral powers were not renewed in 33 and could hardly remain tenable with civil war ostensibly ended and peace re-established. The final breakdown came in 32, when, after an attack by the Antonian consul Sosius, Octavian entered a senate meeting with an armed guard. The consuls and a large number of senators fled to Antony, leaving Italy in the hands of Octavian. In the conflict that followed Octavian presented himself as the defender of Italy, receiving a personal oath of allegiance from *tota Italia* and the western provinces (RG 25.2). Antony, on the other hand, had the senate on his side. Both could claim to be fighting for the *res publica*. The stability of the state was now a matter of victory of one Roman over the other, and the rule of one man, who could claim the establishment of peace.

The Commemorations of 29 BC

The commemorations of 36 give an indication of how victory in civil war could be expressed in terms of control over the world as the accomplishment of peace. The eventual removal of Antony as a contender for control of the *res publica* meant that Octavian was now in a position to fully celebrate the restoration of the state and his successful completion of the triumviral assignment (RG 34.1). As has been discussed earlier, the celebrations of 29 placed a strong emphasis on the foreign nature of the victory; however, Antony's removal from public inscriptions and records was designed not to cover up the civil war aspect, but to stress Antony's position as outside the rights of a citizen and any claims he had had to restoring the *res publica*. Although Suetonius and Appian state that Antony was declared a *hostis* in 32, Dio's account has Antony stripped of his consulship and other marks of authority, but not formally declared a *hostis*, and the war was declared (nominally) against Cleopatra.⁴³ By directing the war ostensibly against Cleopatra as a foreign power, stressed by the use of an archaic spear-throwing ritual in 32, Octavian had absolved himself of the responsibility of starting a civil war. Rather, Antony declared himself a *hostis* through not abandoning Cleopatra once war had been declared on her.⁴⁴

⁴³ Suet. *Aug.* 17.2; App. *B Civ.* 4.38, 4.45; Dio Cass. 50.4.5; Allély (2012) 111–12.

⁴⁴ For Octavian's revival of the Fetial spear-throwing ritual, see Dio Cass. 50.4.45, 72.33.3; Wiedemann (1986); Rich (2011) 204–9. See also Lange (2009) 68–9; Lange (2013) 83.

The strong foreign component of the displays did not, of course, eradicate the issues of how to deal with the commemoration of civil war, as the earlier discussion of the *Fasti Triumphales Barberiniani* has demonstrated. It was not merely a case of silencing Antony's role, although in his later account Augustus would keep silent on the identities of his Roman opponents (RG 2.1, 24.1, 25.1). The monopoly that Octavian held on victory celebrations at Rome serves to reinforce his ability (and imply Antony's failure) to secure *res publica constituenda* by achieving control over the world.⁴⁵

Besides the triple triumph of 29, Octavian also dedicated a statue of Victory in the curia Julia:

ἐνέστηκε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἰδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. (Dio Cass. 51.22.1-2)

In the curia he set up the statue of Victory, which still now exists, signifying, as seems likely, that he obtained command from her.⁴⁶ The statue had belonged to the people of Tarentum, from where it was conveyed to Rome, and set in the meeting house and decked out in the Egyptian spoils.

The connection of this Victory to Augustus is emphasized by the suggestion that the *Victoria quae est in curia* should precede his funeral bier (Suet. *Aug.* 101). It seems likely that the Victory was intended to play a special part in the *laudis ornamenta* of the deceased.⁴⁷ By the time of his death the Victory had become the

⁴⁵ Lange (2009) *passim*, esp. 14–48, 181–202 for Octavian's fulfilment of his triumphal assignment.

⁴⁶ I have translated ἀρχή here as 'command', given that Dio Cass. uses it in 51.21.6 to refer to Octavian's position as *imperator*: ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορά τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα ἦν ('since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander'); see Freyburger-Galland (1997) 203 on this passage. Dio uses ἀρχή to mean both 'empire' in a territorial sense and 'imperium' or 'command' as an expression of power: for a discussion of these different aspects, see Freyburger-Galland (1997) 32–3, 53–5, 221–2.

⁴⁷ Cicero *Leg.* 2.60: 'quae et recte tolluntur, neque tollerentur nisi <in usu> fuissent. 'ne sumptuosa respersio, ne longae coronae nec acerrae praetereantur.' illa iam significatio est laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam et ei qui peperisset et eius parenti sine fraude esse lex inpositam iubet. ('And what it is right to be removed, and they would not be removed, unless it had been <in use>. "Neither expensive sprinkling, nor long garlands, nor caskets should be omitted." Obviously the principle on which these provisions are based is that only the rewards which have been bestowed as a mark of honour belong to the dead, for the law

physical form of Augustus' military and political achievements on behalf of the state—thus *laudis ornamenta*. Yet, notably, the Victory was not an honour awarded by the senate, but was a personal dedication by Octavian. Indeed, Dio does not include the dedication in his list of honours voted by the senate (Dio Cass. 51.19.1–20.5). Octavian's dedication allowed him to enhance and supplement the public honours, whilst also alluding to his pre-eminence within the senate as a body. Furthermore, it seems likely that the statue of Victory was related to the ara Victoriae dedicated in the curia on 28 August: *hoc die ara Victoriae in curia dedicata est* (Inscr. Ital. XIII 2.174–5). Whilst the year of dedication is not recorded, Simpson has speculated that the dedication of the altar in the curia Iulia (which could not itself be dedicated) would have been used to mark the completion of the curia, which Dio places after the triumphs of 13–15 August 29 BC.⁴⁸ Certainly, a passage of Herodian suggests that, at least by the second century AD, offerings were made by the senators at the statue of Victory (Hdn. 5.5.7: 'the statue of Victory before which each senator burns frankincense and pours a libation of wine upon entering the chamber'). It is probable that in August 29 BC Octavian dedicated the ara Victoriae together with the Victory commemorating the conquest of Egypt, in the wake of his triumphs.

There are few descriptions of the form that the Victory took, although it seems from a passage in the *Historia Augusta* that she was a winged Victory: *vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae quae in senatu, ad caelum vehi* (SHA Alex. Sev. 14.2: 'he saw himself carried to the heavens on the wings of the Roman Victory, which is in the senate house'). Likewise, Prudentius describes her as golden, winged, and barefoot.⁴⁹ Whilst there is no literary testimony, the commonly held opinion is that this Victory also stood on a globe, based on the numismatic evidence. A coin depicting a building, which carries the legend *IMP. CAESAR* on the architrave, shows a winged Victory on a globe at the apex of the pediment, and on either side a figure holding a spear, with the right-hand figure possibly holding an anchor (*RIC* I² Augustus 266).⁵⁰ The

provides that a garland earned by bravery may be worn with impunity by the man who earned it and also by his father.').

⁴⁸ Dio Cass. 51.22.1; Simpson (1998).

⁴⁹ Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2.27–38; Pohlsander (1969) 590.

⁵⁰ Reinach (1913) 25–9; Hölscher (1967) 6–17; Zanker (1988) 79–81; Hafner (1989).

building has been identified as the curia Iulia, with the four columns at the front representing the chalcidicum.⁵¹ Of course, this Victory is *on* the curia rather than *in* it, and Gurval has rightly pointed out the regular usage of the preposition *ἐν* should not be strained to fit the numismatic picture as Sutherland suggested.⁵² Instead, as Suetonius, Herodian, and the writer of the *Historia Augusta* record, the Victory was set up inside the curia.

Certainly, the image of Victory on a globe was being introduced on the coinage of the period (*RRC* 546/4–7; *RIC* I² Augustus 255, 266, 268; *RPC* 2004, 3904–5), although we are faced with dating issues, as the legends do not provide a year, but merely give the title *CAESAR DIVI F*. Furthermore, at the time Victory was depicted in numerous ways—standing, on a prow, and in a *biga*.⁵³ However, the depiction of Victory on a globe does appear to be associated with Octavian, and not with Antony or Cleopatra. The best example of this comes from Cyrenaica in 31, when the governor Scarpus started the year minting coins for Antony, before going over to Octavian's side. Antony's coins show Victory holding a wreath and palm branch (*RRC* 546/2a–3c). Octavian's also use this image (*RRC* 546/8), but some have Victory on the globe (*RRC* 546/4–7).⁵⁴ Reinach has even suggested that the bronze statue of a winged Victory on a globe from Pompeii, now in the Museum of Naples, was modelled on the statue of Victory originally at Tarentum.⁵⁵ Again, the image of Victory on the globe continued to appear on coins during the Augustan period (*RIC* I² Augustus 121–2, c.18–16 BC) and in other art forms, such as on the Boscoreale cup, where Venus hands Victory to Augustus, who holds out the globe to receive her, and a 3 m tall statue of a winged Victory on a globe holding up a shield, found in the south-west corner of the library of Hadrian in Athens, thought to have been originally set up in the Roman Agora to commemorate the return of the Parthian

⁵¹ Sutherland (1976) 153–4, n. 19; Sutherland (1984) 60 n. 266; Tortorici (1993) 333; Shelmeyer (2002) 223. For the chalcidicum as a portico of the curia Iulia: Richardson (1992) 81; Shelmeyer (2002) 223; see also Hölscher (1967) 8; Sutherland (1976) 153–4, n.19; Tortorici (1993) 333; Fentress (2005) 221–5.

⁵² Gurval (1995) 62, *contra* Sutherland (1976) 154 n. 19.

⁵³ Standing: *RRC* 545/1–2, 546/2a–3c, 546/8; *RPC* 1304, 2005, 2006, 4457, 4772, 4776, 4782; standing on prow: *RIC* I² Augustus 263–4; *biga*: *RIC* I² Augustus 260–1; standing on cista mystica: *RIC* I² Augustus 276; held by Octavian: *RIC* I² Augustus 270.

⁵⁴ For Scarpus' refusal to aid Antony in late 31, see Dio Cass. 51.5.6.

⁵⁵ Reinach (1913) 25–6. The statue is 0.50m in height; Pohlsander (1969) 591.

standards.⁵⁶ It is certainly tempting to view the Victory that Octavian set up in the curia as standing on a globe, symbolizing the achievement won *terra marique* in the wake of Actium and Alexandria.⁵⁷ This would echo the display outside the curia and, on the numismatic evidence, the depiction of *terra marique* on the pediment (spear and anchor).⁵⁸

As Dio states, the Victory was to carry a display of the conquest and triumph over Egypt; yet it is interesting that he adds the details of its origins: Tarentum. Reinach has argued, mainly on numismatic evidence, that the only occasion for a Victory to be erected at Tarentum would have been to celebrate the victory of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines over the Romans at Heraclea in 280 BC.⁵⁹ It is, however, unknown when the statue was removed from Tarentum, and Dio's Greek does not make it clear whether this occurred just before the dedication or whether the statue had been removed to Rome previously.⁶⁰ Pohlsander puts forward three possibilities: 272, 209, and c.40 BC.⁶¹ The first two dates refer to Roman conquests of Tarentum. These moments of conquest would be a suitable time at which to appropriate the enemy's victory monument and make it one's own—particularly fitting if the monument originally celebrated the Tarentine victory over Rome. There is, however, no testimony prior to Dio's account of the 29 display which mentions this Victory. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that the statue had already come to Rome; yet if it had, it clearly maintained some association with Tarentum. Pohlsander's final date allows us to consider both the treaty made between Antony and Octavian for the renewal of their friendship in 40 and, more importantly, the treaty

⁵⁶ Boscoreale cup: Kuttner (1995); Victory in Roman Agora, Athens: Choremi-Spetsieri (1996); Choremi-Spetsieri and Tigginaga (2008) 126–7.

⁵⁷ Hafner (1989) 557 suggests that the globe was in fact one of the spoils from Egypt which adorned the Victory; cf. Dio Cass. 51.22.2.

⁵⁸ SHA *Alex. Sev.* 14.2–3 sees the Victory as symbolizing *imperium caeli terraeque*; Shelmeyer (2002) 224 links the anchor depicted on RIC I² Augustus 266 to the Actium celebrations.

⁵⁹ Reinach (1913). A bronze tablet from the sanctuary at Dodona (SIG 203) records Pyrrhus' and the Tarentines' celebration of victory over the Romans: Βασιλεὺς Πύρρος καὶ Ἀπειρώται καὶ Ταραντῖνοι / ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ [τῶν] / συμμάχων Διὶ Ναῖῳι ('King Pyrrhus and the Epirotes and the Tarentines [took these] from the Romans and their allies [and dedicated them] to Zeus Naïos').

⁶⁰ Hafner (1989) 554.

⁶¹ Pohlsander (1969) 589–90.

and renewal of triumviral status made at Tarentum in 37 (App. *B Civ.* 5.95; Dio Cass. 48.54.6; Plut. *Ant.* 35.5.3–4). The associations made in 29 with Tarentum by the dedication of the Tarentine Victory suggest that the statue celebrated not only the triumph over Egypt, but also subtly alluded to Octavian's victory over Antony and his accomplishment of his share of the renewed mandate as *IIIvir rei publicae constituendae*. As Dio says: παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο (Dio Cass. 51.22.2: 'he obtained the command from her'). Octavian had won victory on behalf of the state and command over Rome's military and naval forces.⁶²

The message of sovereignty over the *orbis terrarum* was presented on a much larger platform than in 36. In the context of the displays in August 29, the rhetoric of victory against external enemies and over the world was emphatic, without much ostensible room for peace. This time full triumphs were awarded—there was no need for the ceremony that had in recent years come to designate the establishment of *pax*. Even so, there was still a place for peace in 29, despite there not necessarily being a fully developed iconography, as was available for *victoria*. Whilst there is no extant evidence for the application of peace in the triumphal celebrations of August 29, it still had an important role to play in the articulation of what Octavian's victory meant, at least in terms of the presentation of celebrations at the start of the year.

On 1 January 29, the senate ratified all Octavian's acts and, after receipt of his letter concerning his negotiation of *amicitia* with Phraates IV of Parthia, voted him many honours.⁶³ Dio informs us that although Octavian only accepted a few honours, the one that he was most pleased with was the closing of the gates of Janus by the senate on 11 January (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.112–13), as a testimony to the conclusion of all wars (Dio Cass. 51.20.4).⁶⁴ This was coupled with the renewal of the *augurium salutis*, which was traditionally observed only when there was no war or an army in the field and as a

⁶² See Lange (2009) for Octavian's fulfilment of his triumviral assignment.

⁶³ Dio Cass. 51.20; for Octavian's settlement of relations with Parthia, see Just. *Epit.* 42.5; Dio Cass. 51.18; Timpe (1975); Sherwin-White (1984) 323.

⁶⁴ The temple of Janus was located between the forum Romanum and the forum Iulium, on the Argiletum: Ov. *Fast.* 1.258; Livy 1.19.2; Muller (1943); Richardson (1992) 207; Taylor (2000). See Green (2000); DeBrohun (2007) for the opening and closing of the gates.

consequence had not be observed for a long period of time.⁶⁵ Dio's account implies that by the start of 29 the senate wished to commemorate and legitimize Octavian's acts during the war, and the closing of the gates of Janus and the *augurium salutis* demonstrated the security of the empire from both civil discord and external threats. Indeed, the senate's involvement in legitimizing Octavian's *acta* is illustrated further by the fact that it is they who close the gates (ἐκλείσαν), whilst Octavian is still absent from Rome in the East. The act confirmed symbolically the ratification of Octavian's actions in the war.⁶⁶ The reintroduction of both rituals at the start of 29 gives an indication of the meaning of peace within the initial victory rhetoric of the year.

Dio's presentation of the closing of the gates ties the procedure to the cessation of war. This reflects the presentation offered by Varro, who is the earliest extant source we have for the closing of the gates. Varro cites the annalist L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (*cos.* 133 BC), who stated that a *ius* was established so that the gates of Janus would always be open except when there was no war: *nisi cum bellum sit nusquam* (Ling. 5.34.165).⁶⁷ Of course, one can argue that *pax* was the absence of war, and Varro's account of the symbols of *pax* and *bellum* (the caduceus and hasta) sent to Carthage suggests a choice between two different states (Gell. NA 10.27.5). Nevertheless, both the closing of the gates of Janus and the *augurium salutis* appear to stress, in a Republican framework, the cessation of war rather than necessarily the achievement of peace.⁶⁸ In the wake of the rituals performed at

⁶⁵ Dio Cass. 37.24.1 (63 BC) for the last *augurium salutis* prior to 29. On the *augurium salutis* as a ritual whereby the officiating augur asks the gods for their consent for the senior magistrates to pray for safety, see Catalano (1960) 335–46; Linderski (1986) 2255–6. Suet. *Aug.* 31.4 states that Augustus revived the ritual, which Kearsley (2009) 151 takes as evidence that he was the one to instigate the augural college's decision to pursue the ritual through the senate.

⁶⁶ Similarly, Octavian's absence from Rome meant that it was not he who summoned the augural college or completed the ritual. Kearsley (2009) 151–2 puts forward Octavian's consular colleague, fellow augur, and nephew, Sextus Appuleius, as the likely candidate. In contrast to the senate's role in opening the gates in 29, Dio Cass. 53.26.5 records that in 25 Augustus himself closed the gates (Ἀγούστος... ἐκλείσεν).

⁶⁷ DeBrohun (2007) 259 on Varro's negative expression.

⁶⁸ See Cic. *Div.* 1.47.105 for an unpropitious *augurium salutis* of 63 being linked to civil war (*bellum domesticum*). This is the *augurium* which Dio Cass. 37.24.1–25.2 refers to, after Pompey's termination of the Mithridatic war; see Ogilvie (1965) 94 for the association of the gates with peace as either an antiquarian resuscitation at the end of the Republic or an introduction by Octavian.

the start of 29, the representation of the closing of the gates shifted to a *pax*-driven rhetoric that would ultimately serve to encapsulate Augustus' ideals of empire (RG 13.1: *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*).

Augustus would stress that the senate voted for the gates of Janus Quirinus to be closed three times due to his achievements.⁶⁹ The concept of *pax* that this activity symbolized concerned not only civil harmony, but the *imperium* of the Roman state, that is, Rome's ability to command and control her empire. Livy's first book, completed along with the first pentad by 27, refers solely to the first closing of the gates in 29: *post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta* (1.19.3: '[the gates were closed] after the Actian war by Emperor Caesar, with *pax* achieved by land and sea').⁷⁰ The phrase '*pax* achieved by land and sea' echoes the *columna rostrata* that was voted for Octavian in 36, which, although it spoke of *pax* re-established (after the civil war against Sextus), was tied to the ovation *ex Sicilia*, promoting the idea of civil harmony restored through control over the Mediterranean. Similarly, the victory displays at Rome in August 29 articulated the achievements of Octavian's victories *terra marique*. Livy's presentation of the gates of Janus shed further light on the role that peace was coming to occupy within the rhetoric of empire, transitioning from *pax civilis* of the civil war period to *parta victoriis pax*:

Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.

(Livy 1.19.2)

He [Numa] built the shrine of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum as an indicator of peace and war, for when it was open, it signified that the citizen body had taken up arms, and when it was shut, that all the neighbouring peoples had been made peaceful.

⁶⁹ RG 13.1; Suet. *Aug.* 22.1. The first closure was in 29 (cf. *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.112–13, 395); the gates were then reopened in 27 for Augustus' campaigns in Spain (Oros. 6.21.1) and closed in 25 (Dio Cass. 53.26.5). This closure may have provided a suitable ending to Augustus' memoirs, which went down as far as the Cantabrian war (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1); see Rich (2009) 157. The date and actuality of the third closure is debated: see Cooley (2009) 159–60.

⁷⁰ For the date of Livy's first book: Ogilvie (1965) 94; Syme (1979) 189; Luce (2009) 17, 40.

Two things are noteworthy about Livy's account. Firstly, he appears to be the first writer we have to connect the word *pax* to the temple of Janus.⁷¹ Besides the fact that Varro (and Piso) chose to speak in terms of *bellum* rather than *pax*, Livy's use of the term *pax* appears different from a concept concerned with the absence of war. Livy qualifies the *pax* which is symbolized by the closing of the gates not as the cessation of war or even as civil harmony, but as the conquest and pacification of Rome's neighbours: *pacatos circa omnes populos*. Livy's account of the gates of Janus indicates a victorious expression of the defeat and submission of peoples previously outside Roman control. The closing of the gates intimates victory over *circa omnes populi*.⁷² The victory at Actium, like that at Naulochus, was emphasized as the achievement of Roman *imperium* over the known world. The association of the gates of Janus with peace achieved *terra marique* as a testimony to imperial power would be perpetuated in later displays, such as Nero's commemoration of his settlement of the East (achieved by Corbulo with a grant of *imperium maius*). Coins were minted depicting the temple of Janus, accompanied by the legend: *IANVM CLVSIT PACE P(opuli) R(omani) TERRA MARIQ(ue) PARTA*, and served to propagate the concept of imperial control through the achievement of peace, but also peace through imperial control.⁷³

There are also indications that Livy's interpretation of the closing of the gates of Janus was influenced by Octavian's own victory display set up at Nicopolis in Greece in 29, which refers to *pax*. The monumental inscription, which I will discuss in detail later in this chapter, in the section 'A City of Victory and Peace over Land and Sea', has the concept of *pax parta terra marique* at its centre, and the dedication of the victory monument bearing this inscription must have been public knowledge at Rome when Livy was writing.⁷⁴ The idea of *parta victoriis pax*, perhaps first intimated on the *columna*

⁷¹ See Ogilvie (1965) 94–5.

⁷² DeBrohun (2007) 260–3.

⁷³ *RIC I*² Nero 58, 263–71, 283–91. Such displays of military success in AD 66 were sorely needed by Nero, after the fire of 64 which ravaged the city, the death of Poppaea in 65 leaving him without an heir, and unrest and uprisings in the provinces; see Wiedemann (1996) 248–54. Vespasian would also close the gates in AD 71 after his triumph over Judaea. Vespasian's monumental displays of Peace at Rome were fundamental to his establishment of the stability and solidarity of the Flavian dynasty after a period of civil war and provincial unrest; cf. Pliny *HN* 27.1.1. In this respect it is not hard to see an Augustan model behind Vespasian's displays: see Levick (1999) 65–78, esp. 70–1.

⁷⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 18.2 suggests familiarity with the inscription.

rostrata of 36, again emerges in Octavian's articulation of the senatorial honours voted at the start of 29. Even though Antony had been removed from the political and visual landscape of Rome (albeit leaving a visible scar), Octavian's position as *the* successful general and *triumphator* was still open to contestation. Marcus Licinius Crassus (*cos.* 30) rivalled Octavian in terms of military achievements in 30–29, though would ultimately be thwarted by the latter's ability to harness the honours and displays offered by the senate to promote his own rhetoric. As augur, Octavian was an *interpretes Iovis optumi maximi* (Cic. *Leg.* 2.20; *Phil.* 13.12), and even though he himself was not present to preside over the *augurium salutis*, he was able to promote himself as the overseer of Rome's safety.⁷⁵ This idea was accepted and confirmed by the senate and the people in an honorific inscription found in the Roman forum (now lost) that celebrated his achievement of *res publica conservata* (ILS 81). Whilst the closing of the gates of Janus was intended, liked the *augurium salutis*, to emphasize the end of all wars, Octavian appears to have taken the ritual to once again promote the rhetoric of *pax terra marique*, imposing his concept of peace through victories onto a framework that celebrated the safety of the state, and stressing the global extent of his achievements. It is perhaps not surprising that Livy's uses of the phrases *pax terra marique parata* and *bellum Actiacum* indicate a strong correlation to Octavian's victory monument set up on the site of his camp at Actium. The message of this monument was perpetuated in Livy's analysis of the closing of the gates at the start of 29.

A CITY OF VICTORY AND PEACE OVER LAND AND SEA

Suetonius tells us that Octavian founded the city of Nicopolis as a memorial of his Actian victory (*Aug.* 18.2). In this respect, Octavian was following a well-established tradition. The foundation of victory cities was an eastern practice associated with Alexander the Great, who founded a Nicopolis in northern Syria on the Cilician border to celebrate his victory at Issus. Pompey followed the precedent of Alexander and founded a Nicopolis either on or near the actual site

⁷⁵ Kearsley (2009) 150–6.

of his battle against Mithridates.⁷⁶ Octavian founded two ‘cities of Victory’, one at Actium, the other at Alexandria. Both sites were directly associated with the location of his victorious battles, and Dio draws out the relationship between the two by emphasizing that the Alexandrian city was given the same name and same quinquennial games as the first city (at Actium).⁷⁷

The site in Epirus has been associated with a colony by both Tacitus and Pliny. Tacitus refers to a *Nicopolis Romana colonia* in connection with the visit of a Roman governor in AD 31/32 (*Ann.* 5.10.3–4), although earlier in his work he refers to Germanicus’ visit in AD 18 to Octavian’s and Antony’s campsites, and mentions only *urbs Achaiae Nicopolis* (*Ann.* 2.53.1). It is unclear whether Tacitus is making a deliberate distinction between a *colonia* and *urbs* or whether in the first instance the status of the community was not important, beyond its location (*urbs Achaiae*).⁷⁸ Pliny in fact appears to distinguish between a *colonia Augusti Actium*, which may have been sited on the southern Actian promontory, and a *civitas libera Nicopolitana*.⁷⁹ Ruscu has suggested the possibility of a Roman settlement in conjunction with the Greek city, and certainly the Nicopolis founded by Pompey in the East was said to be a mix of colonists and local communities (Dio Cass. 36.50.3).⁸⁰ The evidence from Strabo, however, suggests that at least at its foundation Actian Nicopolis was solely a Greek city:

Μακεδόνες δ’ ὕστερον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ ἄλλας κατεπόνησαν τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀπειθειαν, ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὁρῶν ἐκλελειμμένας τελέως τὰς πόλεις εἰς μίαν συνῴκισε τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ

⁷⁶ Alexander’s Nicopolis at Issus: *RE* 17.535–6; Strabo 16.5.19; Ptol. *Geog.* 5.7.7; Pompey’s Nicopolis in Asia Minor: *RE* 17.536–7; Strabo 12.3.28; App. *Mith.* 105, 115; Dio Cass. 36.50.3, 49.39.3.

⁷⁷ Dio Cass. 51.18.1; cf. Dio Cass. 51.1.2; Strabo 7.7.6. Schäfer (1993) 243 has argued we should not necessarily date the establishment of the quinquennial games and the inauguration of the city directly with the victory monument, and sees the monument as the highest priority in terms of building projects at Nicopolis.

⁷⁸ Furneaux (1896–1907) I.595; Köstermann (1963–8) II.238 both state that Nicopolis was not a colony, following Mommsen.

⁷⁹ Plin. *HN* 4.5 links the *colonia Augusti* with the temple of Apollo which stood on the southern promontory (*in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollonis*); Lange (2009) 103–4, esp. n. 41 suggests the southern Actian promontory as a possible site for a Roman colony.

⁸⁰ Ruscu (2006). As yet there is no archaeological evidence available to support a colony at Actium; cf. Jones (1987) 103.

κληθεῖσαν Νικόπολιν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ, ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης, ἐν ᾗ κατεναυμάχησεν Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν, παροῦσαν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ αὐτήν.

(Strabo 7.7.6)

The Macedonians and later also the Romans destroyed Cassope and other cities through constant war because of their disobedience. Then finally Augustus, when he saw that the cities had utterly collapsed, settled them as one city on this gulf. He named it Nicopolis, after his victory, which he won in a naval battle over Antony at the mouth of this gulf, and also over the Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, who too was present at the battle.

Strabo does not mention a Roman colony, but indicates that Nicopolis was formed by a process of *synoikismos*.⁸¹ Indeed, a stone base found in 1913 at the site of the city clearly attests a Greek *polis*: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / Νεικοπολειτῶν / εὐνοίας ἔνεκα ('the council and the assembly of the Nikopolitans out of goodwill [give this]').⁸²

The act of *synoikismos* in the commemoration of victory and consolidation of power was not a new phenomenon, but had been a practice of the Greek world since the mid-fourth century and was later employed by Pompey in his reorganization of the East. Whilst Gurval is right to point out that Octavian's foundation of the city by *synoikismos* was a 'practical endeavor, a deliberate and serious response to an urgent local problem', Strabo's account suggests that this was prompted by the victory of Actium itself, which gave Octavian the command to carry out such a feat (ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης).⁸³ In a similar fashion the founding of Nicopolis near Alexandria served to commemorate the capture of the city as well as linking Octavian to Alexander the Great.⁸⁴ The Alexandrian Nicopolis was clearly associated physically and culturally with the city of Alexander himself

⁸¹ Likewise Dio Cass. 51.3.1. See also Pausanias 7.18.8; Jones (1987) 104–5; Gurval (1995) 67–74; Lange (2009) 99–106.

⁸² Philadelphus (1913) 106: the base is 0.75 m x 0.75 m x 0.75 m, and the letters are described as 'regular and beautiful'. The inscription was found south of a peristyle building excavated near to the reservoir of the city, commonly known as 'Βασιλόσπιτο'.

⁸³ Gurval (1995) 68.

⁸⁴ Octavian famously viewed the corpse of Alexander after his conquest of the city: Suet. Aug. 18.1; Dio Cass. 51.16.5; see also Gruen (1985) 68–72; Gurval (1995) 70–2. For Augustus' signet ring depicting the Macedonian conqueror, see Suet. Aug. 50; Pliny HN 37.10.

(Strabo 17.1.10).⁸⁵ Strabo remarks on the abandonment of the old rituals and temples of Alexandria in favour of the new site of Nicopolis, indicating that at least during Strabo's time, the Alexandrian Nicopolis fulfilled a role as a sacred site orientated around the commemoration of Octavian's victories, most notably with quinquennial games. The intention may also have been to remove religious and cultural focus from the practices associated with Cleopatra and Antony in Alexandria, and refocus them on the new ruler of Egypt.⁸⁶

We have little evidence with which to properly analyse the settlement at Alexandria, in contrast to the wealth of archaeological evidence from Actium.⁸⁷ Whilst we can acknowledge that Alexandrian Nicopolis, with its quinquennial games, was undoubtedly a commemoration of Octavian's victory, we are unable to examine the specifics of that commemoration. The different natures of both sites, geographically, politically, and socially, which must have influenced Octavian's displays, indicate that a detailed comparison between the two would only be profitable if we had more information on Alexandrian Nicopolis.

For Alexander the battle of Issus had given him control of the Persian empire; likewise for Pompey, although Mithridates had escaped him, the foundation of Nicopolis symbolized his control over the area.⁸⁸ For Octavian, Actian Nicopolis not only designated the victory at Actium, but also symbolized his consolidation of power in the East. He chose to articulate this not just through his Victory city, but also through the enlargement of the temple of Apollo on the Actium promontory, and the erection of a monumental altar, decorated with naval spoils, on the site of his camp above the city (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2).

⁸⁵ Strabo states that Nicopolis was thirty stadia from Alexandria; Josephus *BJ* 4.11.5 gives the distance as twenty stadia.

⁸⁶ It is difficult to determine the success of Nicopolis after its initial foundation period: Josephus *BJ* 4.11.5 refers to Nicopolis, but Plin. *HN* 6.102 mentions a Iuliopolis situated on the same canal and the same distance from Alexandria; see also Gurval (1995) 72–3.

⁸⁷ On the lack of evidence from Alexandrian Nicopolis: Gurval (1995) 72; on the archaeological evidence from Actian Nicopolis: Zachos (1995), Zachos (1997), Zachos (2001a), Zachos (2001b), Zachos (2003), Zachos (2007); see also Philadelphus (1913); Rhomaïos (1924–5); Gag   (1932), Gag   (1936); Petsas (1974); Oliver (1969); Murray and Petsas (1989); Chrysostomos et al. (2005); Rusc   (2006); Tsakoumis (2007); Malacrino (2007).

⁸⁸ Dio Cass. 36.50.3 for Mithridates' flight. Dio also notes that the city comprised wounded Roman soldiers and inhabitants of local communities.

The site of Octavian's monument is located on the hillside above the ancient city of Nicopolis, 7 km north of the modern city of Preveza.⁸⁹ Dio records the situation of the site: 'the place in which he had encamped he finished with a foundation of square stones and decorated it with captured prows' (Dio Cass. 51.1.3). From the excavations of the site over the course of the twentieth to early twenty-first century, the design and layout of the monument can be reconstructed. Travelling up the main road out of the city, past the building complex for the Actian Games at the foot of the hill, the viewer approached the monument from the south. First to come into view was a vast retaining wall, above which could be seen the limestone ashlar masonry facade of the podium, measuring 63 m in length, with side walls receding into the hillside. On the facade was a row of thirty-six bronze rams, displayed in decreasing size from west to east. Above the rams, running across the length of the facade wall, was a monumental Latin inscription, dedicating the spoils of war to Neptune and Mars. On the upper terrace was a *Π*-shaped stoa, open on the south side. The inner courtyard, measuring 38 × 38 m, held a monumental altar, decorated with sculptural reliefs, some of which depicted the Roman triumphal procession, and three statue bases (Fig. 3.1). From this vantage point one could see the Ambracian Gulf and, on a clear day, the Actian promontory, where Octavian enlarged the temple to Apollo and dedicated the enemy ships. Octavian's campsite thus commanded a view over land and sea (Fig. 3.2).⁹⁰

All the ancient authors who describe the site of Octavian's campsite and monument mention the setting up and displaying of the bronze rams (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio Cass. 51.1.3; Plut. *Ant.* 65.3; Strabo 7.7.6; Philippus of Thessalonica *Anth. Pal.* 6.236). Just like the naval displays in the Roman forum, the *spolia* were intended to demonstrate the naval power of the victor, by both illustrating the impressive

⁸⁹ The site of Nicopolis and the remains of the sacred grove complex at the foot of the hill (Michalitsi) were identified in 1805 by Col. W. M. Leake: see Murray and Petsas (1989) 13–14, n. 14.

⁹⁰ For the excavations of the site: Philadelphus (1913); Rhomaïos (1920–1), Rhomaïos (1924–5); Gagé (1936); Petsas (1974); Murray and Petsas (1989); Zachos (1995), Zachos (1997), Zachos (2001a), Zachos (2001b), Zachos (2003), Zachos (2007). In the author's correspondence with Zachos in 2016 he stated that the 2003 reconstruction drawing of the monument was only provisional and that he is working with more data on an alternative proposal to be published in a monograph on the monument.

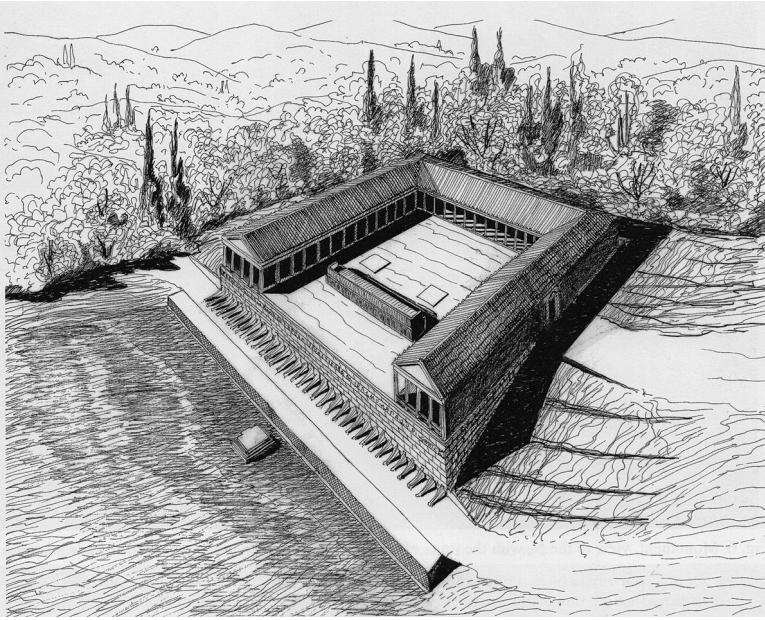


Fig. 3.1 A proposed reconstruction of the monument above Nicopolis proposed by K. Zachos (2003).

© K. Zachos (2003).



Fig. 3.2 View from the site of monument above Nicopolis, overlooking the Ionian Sea and Actium.

Photo: H. Cornwell.

nature of the fleet he had captured and destroyed and so alluding therefore to his own naval strength in the visual display of the captured prows.⁹¹ The first ram socket starts 2.875 m from the west end of the podium wall. If we assume a rough symmetry at the other end, the ram display takes up roughly 57.5 m of the 63 m facade.

The display of bronze rams was matched by the monumental inscription at the top of the podium facade. From the fragmentary blocks of the ashlar masonry it is clear that the inscription was carved *in situ*, because some of the letters are carved over the block joins.⁹² The blocks have decorative bands carved at the top and bottom, measuring 16 cm and 15 cm respectively. The letter height is c.30 cm (i.e. one Roman foot = 29.6 cm). If one pictures the ashlar facade, potentially over 7 m in height above the base course (only four courses survive), the carved decorative bands on the inscription blocks would have framed the inscription within the masonry, and the use of the *tabula ansata* on an uninscribed block further emphasizes this.⁹³ The inscription itself is highly fragmentary, although a total of thirty-three blocks from the inscription course are known, and thirty of these are inscribed. Murray has estimated the length of the inscription at c.56 m, with a *vacat* at each end of c.3 m, based on the number of letters in his own restoration and centring the text over the rams below.⁹⁴ Since new fragments have come to light since Murray's 1989 restoration, I present here my own reading:

⁹¹ The display of the rams above Nicopolis was a balance to the ships dedicated across the promontory at Actium. See Murray (2007) for the reconstruction of the prows.

⁹² The presence of an earlier inscription is visible on the fragment blocks *C-REGI/ON*. In the upper half of the epigraphic field, cut into by the dedicatory inscription, the letters *CAIO/IV* are visible. This inscription must have read *Caio Iulio* (Rhomaïos (1924–5) 2 shows that the two inscriptions on these two blocks clearly demonstrate that the blocks were joined and that the second block must read *ON*, and not *IO* as Philadelphus (1913) thought). An *A* also seems to be engraved at the start of the fragment block *IN-HAC*. It seems that there was an earlier inscription set up to Octavian. The letters are smaller than those of the inscription proper, roughly half the size, and the upper band of the inscription course has cut through the tops of these letters. For what reason this earlier inscription was abandoned is unclear, although it does seem likely that this inscription was also carved *in situ*, since the two blocks carry two sequential parts of the inscription.

⁹³ Murray and Petsas (1989) 29 for the surviving courses of the podium; 57–9 for the construction of the wall. Zachos (2003) 74 on the height of the facade, and 76 on the *tabula ansata*.

⁹⁴ Murray and Petsas (1989) 73–4.

vacat Imp Caesar]r · div[i Iuli ·] f · victor · bel[lo · Actiac?]o · quod · pro [re pu]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e · cons]ul [· quinctum? · I]mperat[or ·] septimum · pace [·] parta · terra [· marique · Ma]rti · Neptuno[que ·c] astra [—] quibu[s · ad · hostem · in]seq[ue]ndum · egr[essu]s? — · navalib]us [· spoli]is [· exorna]ta · c[on]se[cravit].⁹⁵

Imperator Caesar, son of the deified Iulius, as victor in the Actian(?) war, which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region, consul for the fifth time, Emperor for the seventh time, with peace won over land and sea, he consecrated the camp from which he set out to attack the enemy, decorated with naval spoils, to Mars and Neptune.

The inscription most likely dates to 29, since based on Octavian's titulature (not yet Augustus) and his receipt of his seventh appellation of *imperator* we have a possible date range from 1 August 30–16 January 27. The correlation of the central phrase *pace parta terra marique* with Livy's account of the closing of the gates of Janus in 29 makes it tempting to read *consul quinctum* and place the inscription in 29.⁹⁶ Whilst Livy's language seems to echo that of the monument, given the date of the first pentad, this may merely be an application of Octavian's rhetoric back onto the senatorial act. However, given the centrality of the concept in Octavian's contemporary and later (RG 13.1) self-presentation, we may wonder whether he did not transmit such a phrase in his accounts to the senate in January 29, when he celebrated his *amicitia* with Parthia, and at a time when the monument at Nicopolis must have been being constructed.

⁹⁵ Although *consul*, *imperator*, and *septimum* are not abbreviated, I have followed Murray's restoration of *Imp. Caesar* on the basis that the filiation *divi Iuli f.* is also in abbreviated form, and the *Imp(erator)* in Augustus' name stands in place of a *praenomen*. Nevertheless, it is possible that *Imperator* was given in full at the start of the inscription. Zachos (1995) 426 found a fragment which reads *IM-P[II]*, which might suggest a restoration of *Impe[rator]*, but it was found at the south-east end of the podium wall, and so is more likely to have come from the second half of the inscription. I have used *quinctum* as opposed to *quintum* on the basis of ILS 81 (*cos quinct.*). It should be noted that whilst Murray's restoration of *ad hostem insequendum egressus* is tempting and makes use of two fragments, *-seq.* and *-essu*, we cannot be certain of the reference solely to a *hostis* rather than a named group or individuals, although it does appear in keeping with the inscription on the *columna rostrata* of 36, and Augustus' later *Res Gestae*, where his Roman opponents are never referred to by name.

⁹⁶ Schäfer (1993); Rich (1996) 95–6; Lange (2009) 110–11, esp. n. 75, *contra* Gagé (1936) 100; Tidman (1950); Moretti (1953) 205–6; Rieks (1970) 106, who have all dated the dedication to 27.

The first sight of the monument intends the audience to start reading the inscription in correlation to viewing the rams. As the inscription is concerned with the dedication of these objects, this simple but visually striking linear relationship is highly effective. In this respect, more attention must be paid to the inscription, and not just the literary sources. In an attempt to reconcile the claims of Strabo and Dio that the hill was sacred to Apollo and that Octavian dedicated a statue on the site to Apollo with the archaeological evidence, Zachos has argued that the monument may have been a hierarchical structure: the facade honoured Mars and Neptune, whilst the upper terrace, with its monumental altar, belonged to Apollo.⁹⁷ However, Strabo directs his remarks towards the complex below the monument, where the Actian games were celebrated, and Dio's comment is ambiguous, for he could mean that the place (*χωρίον*) belonged to Apollo (Dio Cass. 51.1.3). At present, the evidence from the inscription does not support the involvement of Apollo in the monumental display. Indeed, Suetonius separates the temple of Apollo at Actium from the campsite consecrated to Mars and Neptune: *exornatum spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit* (Aug. 18.2). There is no explicit evidence that Apollo received special attention on the upper terrace. It rather follows the rhetoric of the inscription and celebrates peace won *terra marique* by the victory and *triumphator*, as the fragmentary sculptural relief in Pentelic marble found on the upper terrace around the monumental altar illustrates.⁹⁸

The fragmentary marble remains most likely decorated the altar in two registers: the lower depicting armour, weapons, and ship parts, the upper depicting a triumphal procession. Fragments of decorative vegetation in the form of acanthus leaves, rosettes, and flowers were also found most likely decorating pilasters or other architectural elements.⁹⁹ The display of *spolia*, both weapons and ships, reaffirms the rhetoric of *terra marique* in the inscription, and this theme is carried through to the triumphal frieze. One fragment depicts a ship prow being carried in procession, emphasizing the link between the bronze rams on the podium facade and Octavian's triumph in Rome.

⁹⁷ Zachos (2003) 83.

⁹⁸ Zachos (2003) 83–92; Zachos (2007); Zachos (2009). See, however, Zachos (2003) 70–1 and Lange (2009) 119–20 on the possibility of a statue of Apollo either in front of the lower terrace, where a large base (possibly postdating the main monumental) is attested, or on the upper terrace.

⁹⁹ Zachos (2003) 282–303.

The fragments of the processional frieze depict trumpeters, the parade of spoils such as ships, rams, and trophies on trestles, the parade of captives, sacrificial victims, lictors, non-Roman cavalymen, the triumphal chariot led by a slave, carrying Octavian and two children, and behind them the procession of senators and dignitaries.¹⁰⁰ The reliefs were most likely made in a neo-Attic workshop, given their high quality and classical style, which Zachos states marks the acceptance of the classical style by the new political power.¹⁰¹ The subject matter of the frieze serves to illustrate, along with the Latin inscription, that the establishment of *pax terra marique* rests in the hands of Rome and Octavian. The frieze articulates the meaning of the peace of the inscription: that of Roman victory over the world, and the place of the defeated and allies within it.

It is no coincidence that the central section of the inscription draws attention to the physical site: *in hac regione consul quinctum imperator septimum pace parta terra marique*. The site affords a commanding view (emphasizing its suitability as a *castra*), surveying the land and sea. The inscription tells the audience to look at the spoils in the actual geographical context of the victory. The views the site commands encompass the Actium promontory, where Octavian marked his victory with the dedication of the actual ships and enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo. The two sites then set up a dialogue of conquest and victory across the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, using the theme of naval spoils throughout. The importance of viewing the wider physical landscape of the monument is emphasized strongly by the whole complex as the *victoriae memoria* (Suet. *Aug.* 18.2). The overall message of the display at Actium was clearly perceived and understood by the first-century AD writer, Philippus of Thessalonica: ‘for he [Octavian] instructed the weapons of the enemy to nurture the fruits of peace’ (*Anth. Pal.* 6.236: ὅπλα γὰρ ἐχθρῶν / καρποὺς εἰρήνης ἀντεδίδαξε τρέφειν; cf. Prop. 2.1.34–6). The display

¹⁰⁰ Zachos (2009) 299–300 discusses the possible identity of the two children. One possibility, Julia and either Tiberius or Marcellus, seems unlikely as Suet. *Tib.* 6 records that both boys rode on the horses of the chariot, although the sculptural decoration at Actium does not appear to depict riders on these horses. The other possibility is the children of Antony and Cleopatra: Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, although Dio Cass. 51.21.8 tells us that they were among the captives that preceded Octavian’s chariot.

¹⁰¹ Zachos (2009) 300.

of the rams together with the Latin inscription speaks of a celebration of peace for the region as the accomplishment of Roman victory.

The theme of *pax terra marique* was central to the inscription and message of the monument at Nicopolis and plausibly influenced Livy's presentation of the event (1.19.3). This idea was also represented on a cistophorus, most likely minted at Ephesus, in 28 BC. The obverse depicts the wreathed head of Octavian, accompanied by the legend: *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS VI LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX*. On the reverse a female figure holding a caduceus and standing on a parazonium is accompanied by the identifying legend *PAX*, with a cista mystica in the background, and a wreath encircling all (Fig. 3.3).¹⁰² The Latin legends of the cistophorus combine the idea of *pax* and *libertas populi Romani*, which is further emphasized by the depiction of the cista mystica alluding to Bacchus, the liberator. It may also allude to Octavian's removal of Antony, who had drawn his own comparisons with Bacchus on his coinage.¹⁰³ The coin addresses multiple audiences: the legend referring to the *libertas* of the Roman people suggests a Latin-speaking and Romano-centric audience, whilst the use of the cistophoric tetradachm and imagery (cista mystica) suggests that the message of peace should be understood in the East as much as at Rome. The choice to mint such imagery on a cistophorus is noteworthy, seeing as denarii were also struck in Asia down to 18 BC. It seems that Octavian put his own silver coinage into circulation as a display of his authority in the area, now that Antony, who had also minted cistophori in Asia, had been defeated.¹⁰⁴ Whilst the cistophorus appears to have influenced the local bronze coinage of Nicomedia, under Thorius Flaccus as proconsul of Bithynia, which depicted the bare head of Augustus on the obverse, and a female figure holding a caduceus on the reverse, identified as *EIPHNH* (*BMC Pontus* 179 n. 5), the cistophorus deliberately stresses the state of Roman *pax* (rather than *εἰρήνη*) achieved in the eastern Mediterranean by Octavian. The choice of Latin on both the cistophorus and the inscription at Nicopolis served to encapsulate and combine Octavian's sovereignty

¹⁰² *RIC* I² Augustus 476. See Sutherland (1970) 88–90 for the identification of the mint.

¹⁰³ *RPC* 2201–2. A coin of Octavian's also depicts a Victory holding a palm branch and standing on the *cista mystica* (*RIC* I² Augustus 276).

¹⁰⁴ Sutherland (1970) 89–90; Sutherland (1984) 35.



Fig. 3.3 Silver cistophorus of Octavian, minted in Ephesus, c.28 BC, depicting the laureate head of Octavian on the obverse, with the legend *IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDE*, and the figure of *PAX* holding a caduceus and standing on a parazonium, with a *cista mystica* in the background, all surrounded by a laurel wreath (*RIC* I² Augustus 476).

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over land and sea, with his reorientation of peace away from reconciliation between Romans to an imperial concept of power.

The monument, which declared *pax parva terra marique* on behalf of the *res publica*, was displayed within the context of a Greek ‘city of Victory’ and a Greek sanctuary complex. Octavian had marked the creation of a new centre of the Greek world at Actium by gathering the statuary of Aetolia and Acarnania together at Nicopolis (Paus. 7.18.9). The city represented Octavian’s consolidation of power in the East through his ability to form a new community from the many surrounding ones and start a new cultural centre, where the quinquennial Panhellenic games were hosted, in the sanctuary on the hill, sacred to Apollo.¹⁰⁵ The monument itself, with its open-air *temenos* comprising a *Π*-shaped stoa and monumental altar facing out over the landscape, is reminiscent of Late Hellenistic sanctuary complexes. There is fragmentary evidence of Greek inscriptions, indicating the use of the complex by Greek-speakers; furthermore, the coinage and public inscriptions of Nicopolis were Greek.¹⁰⁶ The presence of a

¹⁰⁵ Dio Cass. 51.18.1; Strabo 7.7.6; Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Gag  (1936) 92–100; Gurval (1995) 74–81; Zachos (2007) 431; Lange (2009) 97–8.

¹⁰⁶ On the comparison of the sanctuary with Late Hellenistic sites: Zachos (2003) 67–70; Greek inscriptions from the sanctuary: Zachos (2001a) 39, fig. 19; however, these fragments appear to be unpublished. One fragment may contain the word *IEPON*; coinage: *RPC* 1364; see Lange (2009) 104–6; public inscriptions: *AE* 1994, nn. 1597–1600; see also Bergmann (1998) 89.

monumental Latin inscription within this ostensibly Greek sanctuary complex is then striking. It stresses the appropriation of Greek culture and art to act as a vehicle for the expression of Roman power.

The use of Latin within a Greek sanctuary was a rhetorical tool, seen most notably in Aemilius Paullus' pillar monument at Delphi.¹⁰⁷ The inscription commemorated Paullus' victory over Perseus of Macedonia, reusing the pillar that Perseus was said to have been erecting.¹⁰⁸ As with the monument above Nicopolis, the pillar of Perseus was fundamentally a *spolia* monument that employed not only the pillar itself, but also the location within the sanctuary and relationship to other Hellenistic pillar monuments to emphasize Paullus' victory over Perseus.¹⁰⁹ Paullus' monument at Delphi both partook in the traditional Hellenistic ruler display within the sanctuary and celebrated his victory over a Hellenistic king. Indeed, his Latin inscription was inscribed over an earlier Greek one.¹¹⁰

Paullus depicted his conquest of the East by using Latin on a Greek monument originally designed for the Macedonian king. Whilst the form and nature of the monument at both Delphi and Nicopolis were approachable and accessible to a Greek audience, the use of Latin

¹⁰⁷ Pomtow (1921) 179, esp. n. 1; Courby (1927) 302–8; Colin (1930) 29–116; Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 207–18; Themelis (1983); Bommelaer (1991); on the frieze: Homolle (1897); Kähler (1965); Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 211–12; Pollitt (1986) 155–8; on the inscription: Colin (1930) 29–33.

¹⁰⁸ Polyb. 30.10.1–2; Livy 45.27.5–7; Plut. *Aem.* 28.1–2, 4; *CIL* I² 622: *L. Aimilius L. f. Imperator de rege Perse / Macedonibusque cepet.*

¹⁰⁹ The earliest pillar monument set in the area north-east of the temple terrace at Delphi is that of Attalus I of Pergamon (by the Stoa of Attalus), although it is unclear who was responsible for the monument: Bommelaer (1991) 193. For the pillar monument erected on behalf of Eumenes II by the Amphictiony in 182: Daux and Salač (1932) 262–95; Bommelaer (1991) 193; Jacquemin (1999) 134; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont (2012) 24–5. The decision of the Amphictiony was engraved on the pillar of Attalus I: Daux and Salač (1932) 231, 233–4, no. 261, also 262–94 for the epigraphic dossier of the pillar. The Aetolian league followed suit, erecting pillars in honour of both Prusias of Bythnia and Eumenes II: Courby (1927) 262–5, 275–7; Colin (1930) 117–35; Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 215–18; Bommelaer (1991) 175; Jacquemin, Laroche, and Lefèvre (1995) 129–30; Jacquemin (1999) 131–8; see also Hurwit (1999) 171–2 on the pillars of Eumenes II and Attalos II on the Athenian Acropolis.

¹¹⁰ Jacquemin and Laroche (1982) 210 n. 77. I was unable to make out this earlier Greek inscription in the Delphi museum. However, the inscription is placed on a side wall at ground level, with a gap of less than 1m between it and the display base of the frieze. This makes viewing the inscription properly very difficult, nor did the lighting in the museum help.

emphatically stamped a Roman presence in the East.¹¹¹ Lange has argued that 'Paullus does not mention Rome and the *res publica*; he only mentions Paullus and the enemy. This is Roman imperialism, whereas Octavian [at Nicopolis] stresses victory and peace, but no enemy.'¹¹² Whilst Lange has rightly stressed the difference in language between Paullus and Octavian, he appears to imply that the Nicopolis display is *not* Roman imperialism (in contrast to the clear statement of imperialism found in the Paullus inscription). In fact, what the display at Nicopolis demonstrates is how Roman imperialism was now to be expressed through the concept of *pax terra marique*, not just to a Roman audience, but also to the eastern Mediterranean.

The commemoration of the victory at Actium emphasizes the rearticulation of space around the newly founded Nicopolis. There was a deliberate attempt to create a display which was compatible with local practices. Although Nicopolis was an artificially created city, it was still a Greek city. The foundation of Nicopolis demonstrated that Octavian's victory had brought about the security and repopulation of Epirus. Of course, the monument that stood above the city emphasized that this stability was the result of Roman victory and that this area of the world now partook in the Roman *pax terra marique*. Here, at the site of Octavian's campsite, above the Greek city, the issues of the civil war were not a concern, as they were at Rome. The *pax* that Octavian conceptualized was not concerned with civil peace or harmony between Romans, but was the expression of his *imperium* won over an empire.

The languages of victory that emerged from the celebrations of the 30s commemorated the successes of the winning side during the civil wars. The silence of the civil opponent in the triumphal celebrations,

¹¹¹ The cultural relationship between two languages within a (bilingual) society is discussed by Wallace-Hadrill (1998) 84. The term 'code-switching' is applied to the relationship between two languages in a given society, one of which is the dominant, expected language, the choice of which is 'unmarked', while the other is the non-dominant, unexpected language, the use of which illustrates a 'marked' choice. The significance of switching between the 'unmarked' and 'marked' languages represents a negotiation of power. It should be noted that in discussions of code-switching the 'unmarked' language is normally the language of dominant power. However, at Nicopolis the use of Latin, the 'marked' language, illustrates the articulation of Latin as the new language of power. See also Quinn (2010), esp. 59–63, for a discussion of multilingualism, localism, and juxtaposition in Roman Lepcis.

¹¹² Lange (2009) 116.

along with the emergence of the concept of *pax terra marique* as established both within the empire and over it, indicates how the idea of victorious peace as an emblem of the emerging political system was accomplished. *Pax* had, of course, been prominent in the victory displays of 40, when Octavian and Antony made peace. Yet now in 29 Octavian was virtually the sole commander of Rome's armies and the leader of the state. The peace he celebrated was not concerned with reconciliation, but rather became an assertion of his command over land and sea.

Peace in the New Age of Augustus

*iam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures,
iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi
nuper et Indi.
iam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque
priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
audet, apparetque beata pleno
copia cornu.*

(Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 53–60)

Now the Mede is fearful of our forces, powerful over land and sea, and of Alban axes; now the Scythians and Indians, recently arrogant, seek our reply. Now Loyalty and Peace and Honour and ancient Modesty and neglected Virtue dare to return, and blessed Plenty with her full horn appears.

Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* has been described as a song of peace.¹ The poem was commissioned to be sung on 3 June 17 BC by a chorus of boys and a chorus of girls as the conclusion to sacrifices made to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine and on the Capitoline as part of the *Ludi Saeculares* (CIL VI 32323 ll. 147–9; cf. Suet. *Hor.*). These festivities were celebrated to mark a new *saeculum*, which for the Romans was a period of initially 100 years, although by the time of the *Ludi* in 17 an alternative time frame of 110 years had been introduced (Censorinus, *DN* 17.7–15; cf. Varro *Ling.* 6.2.11). There also appeared to be a potential concern in the known Republican ceremonies to ensure the security of the state and the *pax deorum*. A consideration

¹ Cremona (1982) 343, 352; Lana (1989b) 328; Lana (1993) 69. On the *Carmen Saeculare*, see also Fraenkel (1957) 364–82; Radke (1978); Schmidt (2009); Günther (2013).

of the Republican origins of the rituals is not possible here, and furthermore is complicated by Augustus' appropriation and manipulation of both the chronology of the *saeculum* and the designation and function of the rituals.² What is worth emphasizing is the context within which the Augustan *Ludi* took place.

The last recorded Republican celebration of the *saeculum* was in 146 BC (Censorinus, *DN* 17.11), and although the coinage of 45 promoted images probably associated with the next new age (*RRC* 474: Apollo, the Sibyl, and cornucopiae, symbolizing prosperity), the actual ceremony appears to have become obsolete during the civil war period.³ Even after the victory over Antony and Cleopatra, and the claim to have achieved *pax terra marique*, the celebration of a new *saeculum* was not immediate, occurring a full ten years after Augustus claimed to have returned the *res publica* to the senate and people (*RG* 34.1). Part of the reason may lie in the fact that Augustus was predominantly absent from Rome over the decade, campaigning first in the West (27–24 BC), and then in the East (23–19 BC), returning to find the political situation unstable due to only one consul being appointed for the year (*Dio Cass.* 54.6.2–3, 10.1–3). His successes in the East—a diplomatic settlement with the Parthian king that saw the return of Roman military standards, celebrated ‘as if he had conquered the Parthians in a war’ (*Dio Cass.* 54.8.2: ὥς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκώς)—and his resolution of the political situation at Rome were commemorated by an altar set up by the senate to Fortuna Redux (‘Fortune the Returner’: *RG* 11.1; *Dio Cass.* 54.10.3; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.194–5, 198–9). Further recognition of his position within the state was affirmed with a grant of censorial powers, held in virtue of his consular *imperium*, through which he conducted a review of the senate (*Dio Cass.* 54.10.5; cf. *RG* 8.1), whilst the following year saw the renewal of his *imperium*, and the grant of tribunician power and equal *imperium* to Agrippa.⁴ Coinciding with the run-up to the *Ludi* was the moral legislation of 18 BC, concerning marriage of the Orders and adultery (*RG.* 6.2; *Hor. Carm. Saec.* 17–20). Legislation

² Forsythe (2012) 49–76 for the origin and history of the *Ludi Saeculares*; see also Radke (1978) 1095–101 for the dating issues, including the Augustan *Ludi* being celebrated in 17, rather than 16 BC, as the Augustan chronology of the Republican *Ludi* (456, 346, 236, 126 BC) would imply.

³ Verg. *Ecl.* 4.4–5 alludes to the possibility of a new *saeculum* in 40 BC.

⁴ See Ferrary (2009) 103–25 for a coherent discussion of the situation of Augustus' powers in 19/18 BC.

concerning the behaviour of Roman citizens had begun earlier, however, with sumptuary legislation regulating public banquets in 22.⁵ Such laws served, in part, to demonstrate Augustus' guidance of the state in reinstating a standard of morality supposedly in decline in previous decades (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6). Moreover, in a display of religious fervour and reorganization, numerous oracular texts in both Greek and Latin were destroyed, whilst the Sibylline Books alone were maintained (Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Dio Cass. 54.17.2). The gradual consolidation of Augustus' position and shaping of the Roman state were substantiated in the assertion of a *novum saeculum*.⁶

Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, in many respects, reflects the ideals stressed on Augustus' return to Rome in 19. The successful subjugation of foreign peoples to the power of Rome (*terra marique*) and their seeking relations with Rome (cf. *RG* 29.1; Suet. *Aug.* 21.2) were echoed in the return (*redire*) of virtues integral to the well-being of the state. Indeed, Horace's assertion of the return of *Fides*, *Pax*, *Pudor*, *Honor et Virtus* must bring to mind the recently dedicated ara *Fortunae Reducis*, erected at the Porta Capena in front of the temple of *Honos and Virtus*, and intended to receive annual sacrifices on the day Augustus himself returned to Rome. This was an alternative form of victory monument, in lieu of an actual triumph.⁷ The poem asserts, in the context of prayers for divine support (*pax deorum*), the endurance of a state of peace for Rome, achieved through dominance over the world.⁸

The prayers themselves which were offered up to the gods at the *Ludi Saeculares* are recorded in the *Augustan Acta*, and demonstrate

⁵ Dio Cass. 54.2.3; Suet. *Aug.* 34; Gell. *NA* 11.24.14; Treggiari (1996) 886–93.

⁶ Horace's emphasis on the importance of childbirth and offspring to the *Ludi Saeculares* must, in some way, have coincided with the imminent birth of Lucius Caesar, and the subsequent adoption (probably in late June 17 BC) in the same year: see Dio Cass. 54.18.1; Suet. *Aug.* 64.1; Vell. Pat. 2.96.1; Hurlet (1997) 427–9.

⁷ Dio Cass. 54.8.2–4 implies triumphal celebrations in 19, even suggesting Augustus was to enter the city on horseback (i.e. an ovation). The location of the altar in front of the victory temple to *Honos and Virtus*, linked to Augustus' entrance into Rome from Syria, and so entering from the south via the Porta Capena, further stresses the idea of a triumphal entry: Cooley (2009) 151. For the location of the temple, see Richardson (1992) 190; Palombi (1996a) 32. Further allusions to victory are presented on coinage from Spain, depicting the laureate head of Augustus on the obverse, and the altar to *Fortuna Redux* on the reverse: *RIC* I² Augustus 53–5.

⁸ Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 37–52, reflecting the themes of Virgil's *Aeneid*; see Günther (2013) 440–2. See also n. 16.

the purpose of the rituals for the strength and preservation of the *res publica*:

vos quaeso precorque uti imperium maiestatemque p. R.] / Quiritium duelli domique au[xitis utique semper Latinum nomen tueamini, incolunitatem sempiter-] / nam victoriam valetudine[m populo Romano Quiritibus tribuatis, faveatisque p. R. Quiritium legionibusque p. R.] / Quiritium remque p[ublicam] populi R[omani] Quiritium salvam servetis
(CIL VI 32323, ll. 93–6, cf. ll. 127–9)

I beseech and pray that you increase the power and majesty of the Roman people, the Quirites, in war and at home, and that you always protect the Latin name, that you attribute to the Roman people, the Quirites, safety, eternal victory, and health, and that you favour the legions of the Roman people, the Quirites, and the Roman people, the Quirites, and that your preserve in safety the state of the Roman people, the Quirites.

The use of the archaic form *duellum* rather than *bellum* implies the antiquity of the ritual and the perpetuation of an ancient tradition.⁹ Yet there was also novelty introduced into the Augustan rituals: the shift in focus away from the gods of the underworld (Dis and Proserpina) to the gods of the Palatine (Apollo), the Capitoline (Jupiter Optimus Maximus), and deities associated with marriage, fertility, and abundance (Juno, Ilithyiae, Terra Mater), and the Fates (Moerae), as well as the introduction of daylight rituals alongside those at night. The ideals of renewal of life, particularly for the state itself, are taken up and perpetuated in Horace's verses. Even the use of lyric verse, not a traditional form for a religious hymn, stresses the new age bestowed on Rome.¹⁰

To what extent we should see the poet's own voice, or even persona, reflected in the lines is potentially problematic due to the public, performative nature of the song. It is, however, this performative

⁹ See Varro *Ling.* 5.10.73, 7.3.49 for the archaic form of *duellum* for *bellum*; cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.1.3, Paul. *Fest.* p. 102 P. for *perduellis* as the archaic form of *hostis*. Further allusions to the antiquity of the secular prayers may be surmised from the references to the Latin name, further stressed in the Severan *Acta* (CIL VI 32323), which substitutes *utique semper Latinum nomen tueamini* with *utique semper Latinus obtemperassit* ('that the Latin forever be obedient'). Taylor (1934) 108–11 links this to the dissolution of the Latin League in 338 BC, seeing in the phrase evidence of the early history of the *Ludi* in the fourth century.

¹⁰ For the novelty expressed in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, see Radke (1978) 1108; Cremona (1982) 343; Feeney (1988); Günther (2013) 432–3.

aspect of the work that may allow us to view the presentation of peace in the context of the poem as part of the wider promoted vision that the ceremonies were intended to convey.¹¹ In the context of the performance on 3 June, Horace's poetry offers an embodiment of the ideals that the *Ludi Saeculares* were meant to celebrate. The ceremonies, with the *Carmen Saeculare* as the finalization, as it were, of the three days of sacrifices and prayers, affirm the victory achieved over the empire and the establishment of peace which the preceding five years had witnessed.

THE YEAR OF 'RETURNS'

One of the honours voted to Augustus on his return in 19 BC, and the only one he is said to have accepted, was the altar to Fortuna Redux.¹² The altar was a major part of the visual programme of the year, depicted on coinage minted both at Rome (*RIC* I² Augustus 322) and in Spain (*RIC* I² Augustus 53–5). This was to be a form of victory monument, set at the Porta Capena, the gate through which Augustus would have entered Rome on his return from Syria.¹³ The altar stood

¹¹ Interpretations of the relationship of the personal, poetic voice and the official political message of the *Ludi* vary; for example, Cremona (1982) 343 and n. 6 sees a complete convergence of Horace's personal aspirations for peace and Augustus' political programme, whilst Lana (1989b) 332–4 and (1993) 70–4 stresses a distinction between the official rhetoric expressed in the rituals and prayers of the *Ludi Saeculares* and the vision of peace conveyed in the *Carmen Saeculare*. Schmidt (2009) 128 has noted that in publication the *Carmen Saeculare* is kept separate from Horace's odes, indicating the work as 'a social success', in respect of which Horace should not be viewed as 'an executive assistant of Augustan religious policies or as a free artist'; Günther (2013) sees Horace as the official poet of the new regime. The poet's own engagement with the achievement of peace is stressed in his *Epistle* 2.1 (written to Augustus), where, in a clear reference to the secular choruses, he extols the role of poetry and the poet in obtaining 'peace and a year rich in harvests' (*Epist.* 2.1.137: *impetrate et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum*); the association of Pax with the plentiful harvest is also stressed by Tib. 1.10.45–50, 67–8; see Maltby (2002) 351–3, 357; also Lee-Stecum (1998) 277–9.

¹² Dio Cass. 54.10.2; *RG* 11.1. The acceptance of only the altar is perhaps reminiscent of Octavian's limited acceptance of honours in 29, where the closing of the gates of Janus is particularly important to him: Dio Cass. 51.20.4; see Chapter 3, in the section 'The Commemorations of 29 BC'.

¹³ See n. 7. The placement of the altar to commemorate the physical return of Augustus to the city would later be paralleled by the placement of the *ara Pacis Augustae* in relation to the *via Flaminia*, marking Augustus' return from the western

as a commemoration of his successful campaign in the East, and may have stood as an alternative form of display to the closing of the gates of Janus, which had already celebrated the triumph of peace over the East (29 BC: Livy 1.19.3) and the West (25 BC: Dio Cass. 53.26.5; Oros. 6.21.1).¹⁴ Certainly, by the time Augustus had written his *Res Gestae* (c.AD 13), both the gates of Janus and the dedication of an altar on his return had been used twice to commemorate victories and peace over both the East and the West (RG 11–13).¹⁵ Whilst one might interpret the repeat closings of the gates of Janus as undercutting Augustus' message of the termination of war and the achievement of *pax terra marique*, when viewed together with displays such as the ara Fortunae Reducis (and the later ara Pacis Augustae), they rather imply an affirmation of Rome's continuous and ongoing achievements in maintaining the state of peace. It is less that Augustus needs to re-establish peace again, and more a desire to reaffirm its achievement and extent with each new success. Indeed, this is something that Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* underlines: successes of the past are to be linked, by the Fates, to the future well-being of the state (ll.25–8), and the cycle of the ages serves to strengthen and prove Rome's power (ll. 66–8). As proof of this Horace asserts that Augustus, as the descendant of Anchises and Venus, is fulfilling the Virgilian prophecy of Rome's *imperium* through the practice of imposing peace, illustrated in the subjugation of the Parthians and other eastern nations (ll.49–60).¹⁶

The return of Augustus in 19 BC reaffirmed the virtues that demonstrated the stability achieved for the state. The return of such ideals was also symbolized with the return of the Roman standards, lost in

provinces; see the beginning of Chapter 5. See Rich (1998) 75 for the ara Fortunae Reducis as a model for the ara Pacis Augustae.

¹⁴ A coin minted at Pelle by local duoviri in 25 BC depicts the head of Pax (*PACIS*): RPC 1529.

¹⁵ On the issue of the date and composition of the *Res Gestae*, see Scheid (2007) xxii–xxvi; Cooley (2009) 42–3.

¹⁶ Compare Horace's idea of *bellante prior, iacentem / lenis in hostem* and the return of peace with Verg. *Aen.* 6.851–3: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ('Be mindful, O Roman, that you rule peoples with *imperium*. These will be your arts: to impose a practice for peace, to spare the conquered, and to bring down the proud'). For the explicit intertextual reference to Virgil's *Aeneid*: Fraenkel (1957) 376; Günther (2013) 440; see Feeney (2007) 133 for differences in conception of the Golden Age by Virgil and Horace, and also for the likelihood that, had he lived, Virgil would have been commissioned to compose the hymn.

successive campaigns against the Parthians in 53, 40, and 36.¹⁷ In 20, Augustus received from Phraates IV of Parthia the soldiers and standards: this had been the condition on which he had returned Phraates' son to him in 23 (Dio Cass. 53.33.2). Augustus had held his son as a *ὀμνηρία*, a pledge of negotiations, after Phraates' defeat of Tiridates, king of Armenia.¹⁸ In 23, both an embassy from Phraates and Tiridates himself arrived in Rome to argue their disagreement before Augustus. After this debate Augustus saw fit to return his *ὀμνηρία* on the condition that Phraates would return the standards and soldiers. This arrangement was doubtless engineered by Augustus to correspond with his campaign to organize affairs in the East the following year.¹⁹ Certainly Dio suggests Phraates finally returned the standards three years later owing to the threat he felt from Augustus' presence (Dio Cass. 54.8.1). The completion of the diplomatic negotiations in the East in 20 meant that Augustus was able to return to Rome and offer up the standards as an emblem of imperial peace.²⁰

Before turning to examine the displays that linked the Parthian standards to the *novum saeculum*, a brief outline of the place of the Parthians in Roman thought will help illustrate the role they occupied in imperial ideology. Literary evidence suggests that the Parthians became a focal point in Roman thought only from Augustus onwards. Despite the frequency with which the Parthians are treated in the literature of the period, there is little evidence of any real ethnographic knowledge of them.²¹ Rome was less concerned with an ethnographic reality than with setting Parthia within an ideological framework. The narrative of Rome's early contact with Parthia is retrospective and projects the rhetoric and ideology of the Augustan age onto the past.²²

The Augustan representation of the Parthians and their relations with Rome falls into two separate periods: before and after Augustus'

¹⁷ Dio Cass. 48.25; 49.24.5; Plut. *Ant.* 37.2; 38.5–6; 40.6.

¹⁸ Dio Cass. 51.18.3. The use of a son as a hostage for *pax* is also attested in the peace established between Caesar's murderers and Antony: Cic. *Phil.* 2.90: *pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem* ('we had peace, which was made through the pledge of your noble son').

¹⁹ Dio Cass. 54.6.1, 54.7.1–54.10.2; Vell. Pat. 2.92.1–2; RG 11.

²⁰ Rich (1998) 72. It was in fact Tiberius who was sent to receive the standards from Phraates, whilst Augustus was in Syria: Suet. *Tib.* 9; Vell. Pat. 2.94.

²¹ Drijvers (1998) 291; Schneider (1998), Schneider (2007) 58–60; Lerouge (2007) 22–44, 361–3.

²² Campbell (1993) 216–27; Lerouge (2007) 32–44.

restoration of the standards. Prior to 20 BC the theme of revenge and Rome's portended victory in battle against Parthia was dominant. Virgil in his *Georgics*, published in 29 BC, refers to war on the Euphrates (Verg. *G.* 1.509), whilst Horace in his *Odes* 1–3, published in 23 BC, reflects the attitude of Augustus' campaign planned against Parthia in the same year.²³ Livy does allude in his ninth book to the defeat of the Romans by the Parthians (*equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos*) without any reference to the concept of vengeance, but he does attempt to negate the force of Rome's defeat by emphasizing with the repetition of *numquam* that Rome has never been defeated by infantry, in open battle, or on favourable ground:

absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant: nunquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique nunquam nostris locis laboravimus: equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, avia commeatibus loca gravis armis miles timere potest. mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius qua vivimus pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.

(Livy 9.19.15–17).

I trust that I shall not give offence when I say that, leaving aside the civil wars, we have never found an enemy's cavalry or infantry too much for us, when we have fought in the open field, on ground equally favourable for both sides, still less when the ground has given us an advantage. Cavalry, arrows, difficult passes, and regions that afford no road to convoys may well occasion fear in the heavily armed soldier. But he has repulsed a thousand armies more formidable than those of Alexander and his Macedonians, and will repulse them in the future if only the love of peace and the civil care for harmony, which we now enjoy, remains undisturbed for all the years to come.

Livy here links the stability of the state, which has already been achieved after Actium, to the eventual success of Rome over her external opponents.²⁴ The interdependency of these two concerns is likewise reiterated in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*.

Roman literature prior to 20, reveals the Romans' self-awareness of the ignominy of the captured Roman standards and the need for

²³ Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.53–6, 1.19.11–12, 2.13.17–18, 3.2.3–4. See also Prop. 3.4.3–7, 3.5.47–8, 3.9.54–6, 3.12.3–12, 4.3.35–6, 4.3.67–8.

²⁴ Luce (2009) 36 argues that this passage must date to before 23, when initial negotiations for the return of the standards and Augustus' campaign were planned.

revenge. This sentiment is picked up by the later Greek writer Strabo. Strabo is the only author to depict a 'Parthian' viewpoint—or what Strabo assumed to be a Parthian perspective—of the military standards as spoils taken from the Romans in war, and accordingly displayed to celebrate Parthian victory: τὰ τρόπαια . . . ἃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι. (Strabo 16.1.28). In this way Strabo emphasizes that Parthia is an empire that possibly rivals Rome; yet he also articulates Rome's victory and power over Parthia through her ability to compel Parthia to return the very trophies of victory they had erected.²⁵

The image of Parthia as a rival to Rome also appears in the contemporary work of Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 41.1.1; 41.1.7; 41.6.8) and possibly Timagenes of Alexandria (Livy 9.18.6). Such authors, in their writing of universal histories, provide a perspective and response to Roman hegemony from subject areas. Whilst Timagenes' work was known to be hostile to Rome, Trogus, a 'Romanized' Gaul, may not offer a voice of opposition so much as a desire to see Rome within the broader spectrum of successive empires. He acknowledges Parthia as an alternative model of empire, and yet not necessarily the better one.²⁶ Clearly, there was the possibility during the late Republic and Augustan period of questioning how universally supreme Rome was. Yet Livy strongly criticizes the viewpoint of Parthia's supremacy, which he assigned to the 'silliest of Greeks' (9.18.6). Dueck has argued that Strabo consciously presented both the official concept in order to present the official Roman image of the *oikoumenē* (cf. RG 32) and an anti-Roman concept of a rivalry of power between the two states in order to highlight the existence, at the limits of Rome's *imperium*, of other powers. Certainly for Strabo much of the geographical knowledge he describes is dependent on the conquests and *imperium* of Rome, and in this respect he is influenced by

²⁵ Strabo 11.6.4: 'The supremacy of the Romans and that of the Parthians have disclosed considerably more knowledge than that which had previously come down to us by tradition'; see also 1.2.1; 6.4.2; 11.9.2, 11.13.2; Clarke (1999) 226–8. The only evidence of the Parthians' own celebration of the victory over Rome that survives for us is the overstriking of Antony's coinage by Phraates IV: Sellwood (1971) 146.

²⁶ On Timagenes, see *OCD* 1527; Yarrow (2006) 44. On Trogus, see Yarrow (2006) 110–16, 145–52, 346–7 for his conceptualization of Rome within a larger narrative of empires and an acceptance of Rome's rule; see also 310–16 for the treatment of Parthia as a rival to Rome.

Roman politics. Strabo depicts the two currents of literary thought on the Parthians which existed during the time of Augustus' Principate, both of which should be seen as valid and relevant.²⁷ The growing importance of Parthia in Roman imperial ideology and foreign policy is clear from the continued attempts to conquer it in the last decades of the Republic. Whilst the strength of Parthia may indeed have been emphasized by those seeking to depict a challenge to Rome's *imperium*, the presentation of the Parthians as a rival power also helps to highlight the achievement of Augustus in prompting their supplication to him.

The receipt of embassies from the two rival claimants to the Parthian throne illustrates the influential position Rome was understood to have had in the eastern Mediterranean. The ability to subjugate Phraates to his demands confirmed Augustus' control over the Roman *imperium*. This concept is exemplified in *Res Gestae* 29: *Parthos trium exercitum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi* ('I compelled the Parthians to return the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and as supplicants to seek the friendship of the Roman people'). That this concept also had contemporary value is clear not only from Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* (l. 55: *responsa petunt*), but also from the monumental displays commemorating the return of the standards themselves. Two displays in particular are of note: the voting of a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, in emulation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to display the standards, and a trophy-bearing arch (Dio Cass. 54.8.3).

Mars Ultor

There is no archaeological evidence for a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitoline, and indeed the standards were finally deposited in the

²⁷ Clarke (1999) 294–5, 341–2; Dueck (2000) 85–115. Strabo's *Geography* appears to have been written between AD 18–24, though with research and collection of sources taking place during the Augustan period, since most of Strabo's contemporary references related to the period after the assassination of Caesar down until c.7 BC: See Dueck (2000) 145–51 for the dating of Strabo's *Geography*, referring to the *Geography* as 'a Tiberian work chronologically, but an Augustan one thematically' (151).

temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum.²⁸ Nevertheless, it seems from the numismatic and literary evidence that, at the very least, a temple to house the standards was planned. The numismatic depictions from both Spain and Pergamum (19/18 BC) show a circular temple with either Mars holding an *aquila* or the standards displayed on their own, both with the legend *MAR. VLT.*²⁹ However, the small temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline was, according to Dionysius, rectangular (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.34.4; cf. *RRC* 439). It thus seems plausible that the temple of Mars was to emulate that of Jupiter Feretrius in purpose rather than necessarily plan.³⁰

At the time of the voting of such a temple, there existed a tradition and ideology of Jupiter Feretrius as the first temple at Rome and the repository for the spoils from the enemy leader:

'Iuppiter Feretri' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent.' haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. (Livy 1.10.6–7)

'Jupiter Feretrius,' he said, 'I, king Romulus, as victor bring you these royal arms, and I dedicate a temple in these regions, which I have marked off in my mind, as a seat to the *spolia opima* which the successive generations, following my example, will bring when the kings and leaders of the enemy have been killed.' This is the origin of the temple which was the first of all consecrated at Rome.

The standards were not technically the arms of the enemy leader, nor had the Parthian king been killed in battle; rather, a diplomatic exchange had taken place over three years.³¹ Nevertheless, as Dio highlights, Augustus viewed the success as if it were a victory and he had defeated the Parthians in battle, and it seems likely that this is how he presented the event to the senate in his dispatch requesting certain honours. Obviously, the *signa recepta* could not be dedicated officially as the *spolia opima*, but Augustus intended, in his request for

²⁸ *RG* 29.2. See Rich (1998) 79–97 on the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitoline; also Geiger (2008) 53.

²⁹ *RIC* I² Augustus 39b, 68, 69b, 72, 105a–b, 507. Mars Ultor was undoubtedly chosen to commemorate the revenge Augustus had taken on the Parthians for the past Roman defeats. Rich (1998) 86 argues that Augustus rejected the proposal for the temple, but Dio Cass. 54.8.3 implies that it was Augustus who originally planned the monument.

³⁰ Bastien (2007) 72–4.

³¹ Östenberg (2009b) 59–64.

the temple of Mars Ultor, to draw parallels and allusions to the *spolia opima* and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. The Augustan programme would then have sought to establish the *signa* as a new form of *spolia opima* and to link the display to the oldest victory dedication in Rome.³² Augustus' planned commemoration of the dedication of the standards in a temple to Mars Ultor articulated his achievement of a Roman imperial peace that brought foreign kings to seek the *amicitia* and *fides* of Rome (RG 32), which would later be reiterated emphatically in new forum Augustum, together with the final display of the Parthian standards (discussed later in this chapter, in the section 'The Perpetuation of Peace').

The Parthian Arch

The significance of the return of the standards in 19 was perhaps more fully articulated in the dedication of an arch in the Roman forum. The Veronese scholiast's commentary on *Aeneid* 7.606 (*Parthos reposcere signa*) notes that *notae* ('tokens') of the accomplishment were represented on an arch, next to the temple of Divus Iulius.³³ This arch and the reception of the *signa* are commemorated on the coinage minted in three different parts of empire: Pergamum (19/18 BC: RIC I² Augustus 508–10), Spain (18–16 BC: RIC I² Augustus 132–7), and Rome (16 BC: RIC I² Augustus 359). There are variations in the depictions of the arch: most notably the Pergamum issues depict a single arch (perhaps minted before the arch was erected), whilst the other issues show a triple arch, with lateral figures holding a bow (the Romans frequently characterized the Parthians as archers), and in the case of the Roman issues, raising up the standards.³⁴ The

³² Augustus never dedicated the *spolia opima* himself, but prevented M. Licinius Crassus from dedicating the arms of Deldo, the chieftain of the Basternae, whom Crassus had defeated and killed whilst proconsul of Macedonia in 29 BC. Augustus claimed that Crassus could not dedicate the *spolia opima* as he did not kill Deldo under his own *imperium* and auspices, and he also seems to have falsified evidence to prove that Aulus Cornelius Cossus had been consul in 437 BC rather than military tribune, when he dedicated the *spolia opima* won from the king of Veii. See Livy 4.20.5–11; Luce (2009) 19–26.

³³ Serv. *Aen.* 7.606 does not mention an arch.

³⁴ For the Parthians as archers: Livy 9.19.16; Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.17–18; Verg. *Aen.* 12.856–7; Prop. 3.9.54, 3.12.11, 4.3.67–8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.593–6. For the depiction of the standards on the coinage of Vinicius from Rome: Rich (1998) 128. Both the issues from Pergamum and Spain explicitly link the arch to the recovered standards

three issues offer different conceptualizations of the same monument, based on the date and location of their issue, and the knowledge of the arch an audience was expected to have. What they have in common regarding the rhetoric surrounding the return of the standards is the quadriga display on top of the (central) arch. The quadriga represents the *currus triumphalis* and so implies the arch commemorated a triumph.³⁵ These are not the only Augustan coins to use the image of victory for a display which was not explicitly linked to an actual triumphal procession. Augustus' repairs of the roads were commemorated with arches erected at Ariminum and the Milvian Bridge in 27 (Dio Cass. 53.22.1–2), and depictions of these monuments on coins show Augustus in an elephant drawn biga and a quadriga and with a Victory behind him (*RIC* I² Augustus 140–1, 143–5).³⁶ As Beard has stated, 'the important fact is not that such arches regularly commemorated triumphs (though some did), but—in a sense, the other way round—that they used the imagery of triumphal celebrations as part of their own rhetoric of power'.³⁷ Such monuments then evoked, but did not embody, the military *iter* and the triumphal procession.

Whilst there is a certain amount of debate over the location and even the existence of a Parthian arch, Nedergaard's analysis of the

through their legends. Whilst the coins of L. Vinicius from Rome do not identify the arch, the figures returning the standards have been convincingly identified as Parthians by the conical cap and bow, and the date ascribed to the coins (based on other coins of Vinicius from Augustus' seventh and eighth tribunates: *RIC* I² Augustus 360–2) would make the Parthian arch a likely subject: Nedergaard (1994–5) 51–3; Rich (1998) 110.

³⁵ Kleiner (1989) 199 argues that it would be difficult to conceive of the Parthian arch without a triumphal chariot. Simpson (1992) 837–42 and Rich (1998) 108 have argued that it would not be appropriate or correct to have a triumphal chariot on an arch when no triumph was celebrated, and Rich has suggested, on these grounds, that the arch on the coins was originally the Actian arch (commemorating the triumph of 29), to which statuary commemorating the Parthians standards was later added. Rich's arguments do not, however, detract from the arch in the forum as a commemoration of the Parthian standards, for a rededication of the arch would reconceptualize the message of the display, and Rich (1998) 114 himself states that 'this endowed the arch itself with new and broader significance'. Furthermore, if the Actian arch was indeed rededicated for the Parthian standards, then surely the context of an arch that already had clear references to the triumph would in fact play up the victory of the Parthian settlement.

³⁶ De Maria (1988) 101–3, 260–2, 269.

³⁷ Beard (2007) 46; see also Gurval (1995) 37–9. It is notable that Dio refers to all three of the arches voted to Augustus as 'trophy-bearing' (Dio Cass. 49.15.1; 51.19.1; 54.8.4), implying that they were envisaged as a celebration of victories in the same way.

remains between the temple of Divus Iulius and the temple of Castor and Pollux and her association of them with the *Fasti Capitolini* provide a likely context of 19–17 BC for the monument, making the return of the Parthian standards a plausible commemoration.³⁸ I offer here a summary in brief, before considering the implications of the monument as regards the celebration of the *novum saeculum*.

The remains of a triple arch between the temple of Divus Iulius and that of Castor and Pollux include large worked stone pieces of trophies, shields, helmets, and weapons, and architectural fragments of both the Doric and Corinthian orders, including three right-hand corners of a pediment in the Doric order. Nedergaard has shown that the arch had a *terminus ante quem* of AD 6, at which time the temple of Castor was rebuilt.³⁹ Based on the relationship between the northern side of the arch and the podium of the temple of Divus Iulius, where the podium blocks were reworked during the arch's construction, the arch has a plausible *terminus post quem* of 29 BC.⁴⁰

In the same area as the remains of the arch were found in the sixteenth century the fragmentary remains of the *Fasti Capitolini*, which comprise the *Fasti Triumphales* and the *Fasti Consulares*. The *Fasti Triumphales* (listing the *triumphatores* from Romulus down to Cornelius Balbus in 19 BC) are inscribed over four Doric pilasters measuring 3.265m in height. The *Fasti Consulares* (listing the consuls from the start of the Republic to AD 13) are inscribed in two columns

³⁸ See Simpson (1992) 840–2; Rich (2003) 340–1. See Rich (1998) 73–115 for the argument that the monuments intended to commemorate the return of the standards were never actually erected; Rich (1998) 114 concedes on the evidence of the Veronese scholiast on *Aen.* 7.606 and the numismatic evidence that the Parthian trophies were commemorated on an arch in the forum, seeing the monument as a reappropriation of the Actian arch. See Nedergaard (1988), Nedergaard (1993), Nedergaard (1994–5), Nedergaard (1999), Nedergaard (2001) for analysis of the archaeological remains; see also Carnabuci (1991) 315–28; Holland (1946); Gatti (1945).

³⁹ Nedergaard (2001) 116. The lateral steps of the temple join the southern lateral archway, though the arch has a different orientation to the temple, indicating the temple steps were deliberately orientated to fit into the pre-existing space articulated by the arch: Nedergaard (1988) 41–2; Scott (2000) 184. The AD 6 rebuild increased the dimensions of the temple from the 117 BC Metellan temple on a ratio of 7:6, see Nielsen and Poulsen (1992) 113; Nilson and Persson (2008) 75, 95. The new podium cut into the arch in front of the southern lateral arch: Nielsen (1993).

⁴⁰ However, Rich (1998) 107 had pointed out that whilst the temple was dedicated on 18 August 29, the podium must have been constructed well in advance of this date, with the foundations laid supposedly in 42 BC (Dio Cass. 47.18.4).

on four tablets 2.34m in height, each flanked by two small Corinthian pilasters, with the list continuing on the wall to the right of the fourth tablet—the so-called ‘fifth tablet’.⁴¹ Given the solid blocks of marble for the inscription, they must have been an integral part of the structure of their building, and Nedergaard combines the architectural remains of the triple arch with the architectural details of the *Fasti*. Her reconstruction places the tablets of the *Fasti Consulares* on the four walls of the central pylons of the triple arch, with the pilasters of the *Fasti Triumphales* on the internal walls of the central passage, supporting the vault.⁴² The *Fasti Triumphales* fit exactly over the four pilasters, with the final entry of Balbus’ triumph of 19 BC at the bottom edge of the epigraphic field, just before the rough working of the stone for insertion. It seems highly plausible, given the exact fit of the list on the pilasters, that it was conceived and inscribed as a complete list after 19 BC.⁴³

There are issues over the date of inscription for the *Fasti Consulares*, centred round the erasures found in that inscription, but not in the *Fasti Triumphales*, of the names of the M. Antonii (cos. 99, and Antony the triumvir). Their names were at some point recarved over the erasures.⁴⁴ This discrepancy between the two lists suggests the possibility that the two were not inscribed at the same time.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Nedergaard (2001) 108. Given the solid marble blocks of the inscription, it is likely that the larger fragments were found not far from their original site: Taylor (1946) 2; Degrassi (1947) 17; Simpson (1993) 67, 71; Nedergaard (2001) 117. Michelangelo’s display for the *Fasti* in the Capitoline Museum meant that the blocks have been cut back: Nedergaard (2004) 84. Panvinio (1558) records that the third tablet was found *in situ*. Coarelli (1985) 269–308 relies heavily on Ligorio (1553) f.31 for locating the *Fasti* on an arch situated over the *via Sacra*. Coarelli fails to take into account that Ligorio believed the *via Sacra* ran straight across the forum from the arch of Titus to the arch of Septimius Severus, instead of following a path close to the north side of the forum: Burns (1988) 35; Nedergaard (1994–5) 60; Scott (2000); Coffin (2004) 1, 19.

⁴² Nedergaard (2001) 118–19. See also Gatti (1945); Degrassi (1945); Taylor (1950); Taylor (1951); Nedergaard (1994–5); Schneider (2007). Other suggested locations for the *Fasti* include the *Fornix Fabianus* (see Steinby (1987) 163); the Regia (see Simpson (1993); Bastien (2007) 58–9).

⁴³ Östenberg (2009b) 55. Spannagel (1999) 249 has suggested that Octavian’s triple triumph of 29 was a suitable occasion for the formulation of the *Fasti Triumphales*.

⁴⁴ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.54–9; Dio Cass. 51.19.3 for the erasure of Antony’s name; Tac. *Ann.* 3.19 for the maintenance of the Antonii in the *Fasti*. It is notable that the recarvings of the names of the Antonii all come from the fourth tablet.

⁴⁵ Spannagel (1999) 246. Degrassi (1947) 19–20 assigns the recarving to Octavian’s return in 29. However, Taylor (1946) 2–6 and (1950) 92 dated the erasures to 2 BC and the downfall of Iullus Antonius. Unfortunately, the year of Iullus’ consulship (10 BC) is

Whenever the *Fasti Consulares* were initially inscribed, it should be noted that they were intended to be added to, unlike the *Fasti Triumphales*. The so-called 'fifth tablet' illustrates this point, in that the consuls continued to be added to the inscription even when the designated space—the four tablets within the Corinthian pilasters—was no longer available. What is important for the display of the arch is that the *Fasti Triumphales* were inscribed as part of that celebration and were intended to be viewed alongside the *Fasti Consulares* in the context of the arch commemorating the return of the standards.

That the *Fasti Consulares* were intended, at least after 19 BC, to be part of a new display is suggested by the extant entries for the third (236 BC) and fifth (17 BC) *Ludi Saeculares*, as well as those held by Domitian in AD 88. The position of the first two relates to the consular year in which they were held: thus, the commemoration of the third games is inscribed on the wall to the left of the third tablet, at the same level as the consuls for that year, whilst that of the fifth games is found on the wall to the right of the fourth tablet, and is in fact part of the so-called 'fifth tablet'. The Domitianic record was inscribed below that of 17 BC. Therefore, its placement does not relate to the year, but rather seeks to emphasize the relevance of commemorating the *Ludi Saeculares* on that monument. In this way, *Ludi Saeculares* were an integral part of the initial display of the *Fasti*, and this is supported by the later addition of the games of AD 88. In the imperial period, the monument was clearly where one commemorated such an event.

Nedergaard has offered an elegant solution for the inscribing of the *Ludi* on a monument decorated with the *Fasti Consulares* and *Triumphales*. She has noted that the so-called 'fifth tablet', inscribed as it is on the wall between the fourth tablet and a three-quarter Doric column, rather than in its own tablet, has far more slender letters than the rest of the inscription and states that it is a later addition.

not extant. Furthermore, if the erasures were made in 2 BC, the question why they only occur on the *Fasti Consulares* and not the *Fasti Triumphales* remains. The only plausible explanation would be that Antony's name could not be removed from the *Fasti Triumphales* due to its association with the ovation of Octavian in 40: Nedergaard (2004) 96 states that the explanation is 'not totally satisfactory'. L. Antonius' name is also left intact on the *Fasti Triumphales*. Condemnation did not necessarily result in erasure from the *Fasti Consulares*: A. Terentius Varro Murena, who was killed during his consulship of 23 BC for conspiracy, was not omitted or erased from the list. His condemnation appears to have been recorded and his replacement named (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1.58–9), although in all other *Fasti* records he is omitted (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.150–1): see Degrassi (1945) 97 n. 178.

Furthermore, the fifth *Ludi Saeculares* entry, on the 'fifth tablet', appears to restrict the epigraphic field for the final consular entry of AD 13: most notably a dividing line had to be used in the name of *L. Munatius L. f. L. n. | Plancus*.⁴⁶ The final entry for the *Fasti Triumphales* is that of 19 BC, which together with the entry for the fifth *Ludi Saeculares* suggests a likely date of c.17 BC for the overall display of the *Fasti*. Clearly by this date the fourth tablet would not be completely filled—indeed the 'fifth tablet' starts in AD 1—and Nedergaard has proposed that space would have been left for the consular offices to continue to be recorded, whilst the list of triumphs was finished, designed to fit exactly over the four pilasters, with no further triumphs apparently recorded.⁴⁷ That the *Fasti Consulares* were intended to continue after 17 is suggested by the 'fifth tablet', which was not part of the original display, but continued the list of the consuls, even though there was no proper space designated for it.

The integration of the two lists into the structure of the arch presents the viewer with a display of Republican history from the first *triumphatores* and first consuls onwards. This display articulates the two highest attainments of Roman *imperium*, embodied in the offices of general and consul. These lists present the men who composed the structural fabric of Roman military and political power. The arrangement of the lists focuses on the display in the central archway, emphasizing the celebration of the triumph. Indeed, the letter size of the *Fasti Triumphales* is larger than that of the *Fasti Consulares*.⁴⁸ This may be in part due to the height of the pilasters (3.265m) to enable the highest lines to be visible. However, this still leads to a visual comparison between the two lists, which are further distinguished by the two columns of consular lists, against the one straight list of *triumphatores*.

⁴⁶ Nedergaard (2004) 93–4, esp. n. 37: 'an erasure above the annotation of the Secular Games of 17 BC seems to indicate that the engraver had at first placed the *cognomina* underneath the *nomina* of the two consuls, but then decided that the line came too close to the annotation of the secular games. A similar system of placing the *cognomina* underneath the *nomina* of the consuls can be observed for instance for years 5, 6, and 7 on fragment XLV.'

⁴⁷ Nedergaard (2001) 120; Nedergaard (2004) 96–9.

⁴⁸ Even given the small discrepancies for different engravers, the *Fasti Triumphales* uniformly measure c.17mm, whilst the *Fasti Consulares* measure c.10–13mm. Only Gordon (1958) nn. 9–11 gives the measurements for the three fragments he discusses. See also Nedergaard (2001) 120.

Simpson complains that Balbus' name, as the last *triumphator*, on an arch to Augustus is 'inherently unlikely' but he fails to understand the full context of the monument.⁴⁹ Romulus' name might be first, and Balbus' name might be last in the long history of the triumph, but Augustus' name and the evidence of his deeds rises above the *Fasti*, on the architrave of the arch, as the coin of Vinicius illustrates (*RIC* I² Augustus 359). The placement of the *Fasti Triumphales* on the pilasters of the arch then implies that this history provides the foundations and support for Augustus' victory, which surpasses them all, even though no triumph in fact took place. The dedication on the architrave of the arch, which gives Augustus' title as *Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus), co(n)s(ul) XI, tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) VI*, articulates his adoption of the title *Imperator*—the acclamation given to a general after a victory by his soldiers—as his *praenomen*.⁵⁰ Even without a triumph, the presentation of Augustus is one of a victor. The return of the Parthian standards then is treated as a new 'first' triumph of Rome, and Augustus as the new founder. This concept ties in with the ideology of the *novum saeculum* and the secular games.⁵¹

The commemoration of all the *Ludi Saeculares* prior to and including the games of 17 is further highlighted by the completion of the triumphal lists, and the continuation of the consular lists. The outcome of the Parthian settlement is the end of triumphs, yet the continuation of the power and *imperium* of the highest magistracy of Rome. In this respect, the Parthian arch aims to commemorate the accomplishment of the return of peace, after which there will be no need for any further triumphs. The list of *triumphatores* was terminated through the inscribing of the dedicatory inscription on the arch; this was later echoed by Ovid in his depiction of the ara Pacis: *dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi* (*Ov. Fast.* 1.713: 'as long as enemies cease, the cause of triumph also ceases'). This list of consular offices was to continue, and did continue, even when the designated space ran out.

⁴⁹ Simpson (1993) 64.

⁵⁰ For the honorific inscription: Degraffi (1945) 100; Taylor (1951) 94 n. 39. On the acclamation of *Imperator*: Syme (1958b); Versnel (1970) 340–9.

⁵¹ Zanker (1988) 183–92; Rose (2005) 23. As Taylor (1946) and (1951) demonstrated, the chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini* appears to have been influenced by the dating for the *Ludi Saeculares*.

The return of the Parthian standards received a triumphal commemoration for a military ‘victory’ under Augustus’ auspices; yet it also signals the moment as a triumph to end all triumphs, and indeed in a sense it was, for Balbus was the last non-member of the imperial *gens* to hold the honour. From 17 onwards, Augustus apparently encouraged *triumphatores* to erect public monuments out of their spoils to commemorate such deeds, in place of a triumph (Dio Cass. 54.18.2). The Parthian arch was, at the very least, a commemoration of the triumphal deeds of the entire senatorial order. The links that the arch created with the great Republican past were further emphasized by the landscape in which the arch was set.

The Arch and the Aedes Vestae

The archway served to mark and control the transition between the forum space (which it also served to enclose) and the area dedicated to the cult of Vesta, and the route leading up to the Palatine. Under Caesar, the street that divided the aedes Vestae and the Regia had been realigned to better match the axes of movement from the forum space.⁵² The arch further regulated the movement between the different spaces at the south-east end of the forum, whilst also playing on a spatial and visual relationship with the aedes Vestae. Standing on the west side of the arch, the temple structure is visible through the vista of the central passageway. Whilst the temple precinct was bordered on the west by the ramp to the Palatine, the elevation of the temple would have been visible in the space between the two central pillars of the arch.⁵³ The relationship between the two monuments afforded the possibility of enhancing the message of the Parthian victory through correlations to Vesta.

The temple of Vesta was representative of the earth and the sacred flame of the goddess was strongly connected to the public hearth and

⁵² Scott (2009) 43–4; Russell (2016) 5–6.

⁵³ Although the temple has been rebuilt a number of times, its form and location have remained a constant. See Scott (1993); Scott (1999); Scott (2009) 1–81 on the various stages of the *area sacra* of Vesta. Whilst the precinct was enclosed by a wall, the exact nature of the limits of the enclosure to the west and its relationship to the ramp leading to the Palatine is unclear: see Steinby (1993) 150–4.

the founding of the city.⁵⁴ Ovid celebrates the burning of Vesta's eternal flame under Augustus' rule (Ov. *Fast.* 6.445) as a pledge of *imperium*: *ignibus aeternis aeterni numina praesunt / Caesaris: imperii pignora iuncta vides* (Ov. *Fast.* 3.421–2: 'the eternal divine will of Caesar presides over the eternal flames: you see pledges of empire joined together'). The visual link between the temple of Vesta, as the eternal hearth of the city of Rome and thus the empire, and the arch the senate voted and erected for the Parthian victory is thus suggestive. The triumphal commemoration over the Parthians was to be seen in relation to the symbol of the stability and continuity of the Roman state, again linking the contemporary celebration to the history of Rome. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Ovid ties the living flame of Vesta on the day of the Vestalia (9 June) to the return of the Parthian standards, placing in the goddess's mouth the words: '*Parthe, quid exsultas? signa remittes, / quique necem Crassi vindicet ultor erit*' (Ov. *Fast.* 6.467–8: 'Why do you exalt, Parthian? You will return the standards, for there is one who will be the avenger of Crassus' death').

The visual connection between the temple precinct of Vesta, framed in the central archway of the Parthian arch, which as the numismatic evidence suggests depicted the Parthians returning the standards on the lateral arches, evokes the concept that the celebration of the Parthian 'triumph' should be understood as emphasizing that Augustus' achievement ensured the continuation of the *ignes aeterni*. Augustus himself claims to have consecrated *dona ex manubiis* in the aedes Vestae (RG 21). Dionysius' account of Metellus' rescue of the sacred things of Vesta also highlights him as a *triumphator* over the Carthaginians: the protection of the sacred flame required, it seems, someone of proven military prowess, for the ability to protect the *imperium* of Rome was equivalent to the protection of Vesta (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.66.3–5). This association of the *sacra* of Vesta with *imperium* is also made by Cicero, who conceptualizes the Palladium, which Metellus' saved from the flames, as a pledge (*pignus*) of Rome's safety and *imperium* (Cic. *Scaur.* 48). The link between Vesta and the *pignora imperii* would further be emphasized in Augustus' assumption of the position of Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC, and

⁵⁴ Ov. *Fast.* 6.267: *Vesta eadem est et terra*; *Fast.* 6.460. 6.267–80 describes how the temple of Vesta mirrors the concept of the earth as a globe (6.278); see also Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.67; Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.66.3. For the association with Vesta and the city's founding: Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 2.65–66.1; Ov. *Fast.* 3.417–28.

Ovid utilized this link to the protective deity of Rome to emphasize Augustus' avenging of the death of another Pontifex Maximus, Caesar (*Fast.* 5.573–6).⁵⁵ Augustus' role as avenger on behalf of Vesta and her priest was expanded to encompass a second act of vengeance against the Parthians (*Fast.* 5.579–98). Whilst Ovid's *Fasti* could look retrospectively back and draw together Augustus' associations with Vesta and his acts of vengeance, it is nevertheless possible to see the spatial and visual associations of the temple of Vesta and the Parthian arch as a part of the continuous discourse of securing the state through military success and piety to the gods. In this respect, Augustus' achievement was part of a rhetoric of the *pax deorum* and empire specifically associated with Vesta that was well established in the late Republic. What is striking, however, in the Augustan associations with Vesta is the concept of revenge.⁵⁶ The return of the standards is, of course, part of the discourse of revenge and they act as *pignora imperii*.

The return of the standards and the expectation of the *Ludi Saeculares* presented an opportunity to express an ideology of imperial peace in the new age. This is clear from other coins minted by the *Illviri monetales* of 16 BC at Rome. The coins focus on the *Ludi Saeculares*, but also on the public vote for Augustus' safe return from Gaul and his road-building programme (*RIC* I² Augustus 350–69). The place of the Parthian arch within this visual programme of 16 seems to tie it firmly to the celebrations of the *novum saeculum*. Rich has suggested that the coinage from Rome 'plays down' the Parthian theme, because the standards are not as pronounced on the depiction of the arch as they are on the Spanish coinage.⁵⁷ Rather than 'playing down' the Parthian theme, the coin of Vinicius contextualizes the Parthian arch as a monument that relates the Parthian 'victory' to the establishment of the new age and the *Ludi Saeculares* in Rome. In this way, the return of the standards became woven into the rhetoric and message of the *Ludi Saeculares* celebrating the *novum saeculum*. What the victory commemoration of the Parthian arch illustrates is an idea of a triumph to end all triumphs because Augustus has achieved the ultimate victory, that of the return of peace, which, resting on the glorious past, brings a new age where there is only the need to record the offices of consul.

⁵⁵ Herbert-Brown (1994) 66–81.

⁵⁶ Newlands (1995) 127–45.

⁵⁷ Rich (1998) 110; Nedergaard (2004) 94–9.

THE PERPETUATION OF PEACE

The attainment of Fides and Pax was, as Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* articulated, contingent on Rome's ability to exercise her *imperium* in relation to other peoples. This idea was perpetuated in the later displays of the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum, where the act of seeking and making peace was played out amongst a presentation of the pacified *orbis terrarum*. The large-scale building programme of the forum Augustum brought about a reorientation of the arena for the celebration of imperial *pax*, together with the re-formation of the Roman forum as a location for the display of the imperial family.⁵⁸

The return of *signa militaria* is something that Augustus boasts of not only for the Parthian standards, but also for those recovered from Spain, Gaul, and Dalmatia (RG 29.1). The actual occasions on which standards were lost and recovered from Spain and Gaul are unclear, but we do know that Augustus recovered the Dalmatian standards in 35/34 and displayed them in the porticus Octaviae in 33.⁵⁹ However, it is only after the return of the Parthian standards, and their ultimate dedication in the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum, that a precedent is established for the display of the recovered *signa militaria*. Dio states that, in the context of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum, military standards recovered from the enemy were to be placed in the temple (Dio Cass. 55.10.4). The Parthian military standards were the initial focal point when the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated in 2 BC. Their continued relevance to the rhetoric of the forum space is emphasized both in Augustus' *Res Gestae* and in Ovid's *Fasti*, where it is specifically the Parthian standards that are referred to in the context of Mars Ultor.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ In AD 6, the rebuilt Temple of Castor and Pollux was dedicated in the name of Tiberius and his deceased brother Drusus: Ov. *Fast.* 1.707; Green (2004a) 226–7; Sumi (2009) 174–86. The lateral staircase of the enlarged temple was deliberately orientated at a slight angle to ensure it met with the lateral passage of the Parthian arch. Whilst this provided a harmonious join between the two structures, the southern lateral arch had now effectively become the entrance to the temple, refocusing the display on dedications made by Augustus and his family.

⁵⁹ App. *Ill.* 3.12, 5.25, 5.28; Scheid (2007) 76–8; Cooley (2009) 241–2.

⁶⁰ Ov. *Fast.* 5.579–96; RG 29.2; the use of *ea autem signa* (and in the Greek version 'ταύτας δὲ τὰς σημείας') emphasizes the distinction between the Parthian standards and the other *signa militaria* Augustus records. Only the temple of Mars Ultor and the

The forum Augustum was a display of Roman victory and foreign policy, both past and present. In this respect, it reiterated the messages of the *Ludi Saeculares* emphasizing the continuity of Rome's repeated successes. The forum was decorated with a variety of marbles: Numidian yellow, Phrygian purple, Lucullan red/black, and Egyptian alabaster, which all offered a view of the empire and Rome's control over it. The upper storey of the colonnades was decorated with caryatids, representations of the vanquished, and shields, whilst personifications of conquered peoples were also displayed in the colonnades, as were the statues and inscriptions recording the great men of Rome's past.⁶¹ At the centre of the public space, the senate set up a quadriga statue of Augustus. The temple of Mars Ultor dominated the north-east end of the forum space, housing both the cult statue and the recaptured military standards.⁶²

As Suetonius records, Augustus made his forum and in particular the temple to Mars Ultor the new focus of Roman military activity and foreign policy:

nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent.

... sanxit ergo, ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleretur senatus, provincias cum imperio petituri hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent, huc insignia triumphorum conferrent. (Suet. Aug. 21.2, 29.2)

He never carried out war against any nation without just and necessary reasons, and he was so far removed from desire of increasing in any way *imperium* or warlike glory, that he compelled the leaders of certain barbarian nations to swear in the temple of Mars Ultor that they would keep themselves in the loyalty and peace which they sought.

forum Augustum are treated with a visual programme in Ovid's *Fasti*: Green (2004a) 225, 236–9.

⁶¹ Nicolet (1991) 42–3 examines the possible form and location of the *tituli provinciarum*, including the shields on the upper storey of the colonnade, as well as drawing parallels between Vel. Pat. 2.39.2 and RG 26.2 and the enumeration of peoples under Rome's dominion.

⁶² Claridge (2010) 177–180; Ganzert (2000); see also Zanker (1968), esp. 16, for the portraiture of the *summi viri* and 24 for the overall rhetoric of the programme. On the *elogia* of the *summi viri*, see Geiger (2008) 129–57. For the discovery of a second pair of exedrae at the south end of the forum, see Geiger (2008) 107.

... Therefore, he sanctioned that the senate should consult about wars and triumph here; that those who were sent into the provinces with *imperium* should be dispatched from here; and that everyone who had returned as victors should transfer the insignia of triumphs here.

Thus, when ambassadors came to Rome, peace was negotiated within the display of Roman victory at the temple to Mars Ultor. The space within the forum Augustum was then an embodiment of the concepts proclaimed in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*: *iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi / nuper et Indi. / iam Fides et Pax* (*Carm. Saec.* 55–7). Velleius, in a brief discussion of all the nations subjected to Rome as provinces (2.38.1: *gens ac natio redacta in formulam provinciae*), records the display of such nations in the forum Augustum: *Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praeinitet* (2.39.2: 'Spain and other countries whose names adorn his forum'). Zanker thought that these *tituli* would have been included within the inscription beneath the quadriga in the forum.⁶³ However, an inscription dedicating a gold statue from Baetica suggests that the names of pacified nations were inscribed separately from the inscription set up by the senate:

Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto p(atri) p(atriciae) Hispania Ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est auri p(ondo) C(entum). (ILS 103)

To Emperor Caesar Augustus, father of his country, because the province had been brought under the condition of peace by his benefaction and perpetual care, Further Spain Baetica (gives this statue) 100 pounds of gold in weight.

The gold statue set up on the base, found between the right-hand side of the temple and the southern exedra, has been suggested as representing either Augustus or the province of Baetica itself.⁶⁴ Either way, the inscription indicates that the display was intended to illustrate how peace was Augustus' achievement. Indeed, Tacitus' reference to gold statues set up in the forum Augustum indicates that such displays were to celebrate victory over foreign nations:

⁶³ Zanker (1988) 214; see Nicolet (1991) 42–3 for other suggestions of the form and location of the *tituli*.

⁶⁴ Lanciani (1889) 26–32 for the discovery of the base, which measures 0.47m × 0.39m × 0.23m. See also Gordon (1958) 43; Pekáry (1985) 74; Alföldy (1992) 71–2.

cum Valerius Messalinus signum aureum in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram ultioni statuendam censuissent, prohibuit, ob externas ea victorias sacrari dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda.

(Tac. Ann. 3.18.2)

When Valerius Messalinus proposed to set up a gold statue in the temple of Mars Ultor, and Caecina Severus one on the altar of Vengeance, Tiberius prohibited it, saying again and again that statues were consecrated on account of foreign victories, but that domestic misfortunes and grief ought to be concealed.

The representation of Baetica, whether through a statue or the inscription alone, as a *provincia pacata* illustrates the place given to foreign peoples and provinces within the context of the history of Roman victory. Rome's ability to allow or disallow peace with foreigners is also attested in at least one *elogium* in the forum.⁶⁵

The *elogia* of the *summi viri* are part of Augustus' own representation and presentation of Roman history. The display of the political-military figures of Rome's past in the forum Augustum was a deliberate selection of certain individuals, in contrast to the lists of the consuls and *triumphatores* on the Parthian arch, which at least professed to depict all consuls and *triumphatores* from Roman history as a display of senatorial power.⁶⁶ However, the selection of individuals for the *elogia* was, like the *Fasti Consulares*, to be added to after the dedication of the temple and forum. Furthermore, those who were added to the display after the dedication of the forum were to be distinguished from the past heroes with a bronze statue instead of a marble one.⁶⁷ The articulation of space and time in the forum Augustum thus offers an alternative to the display of the *Fasti Capitolini* through a selective account of Roman history which expresses the triumphal nature of relations with non-Romans, that

⁶⁵ Nicolet (1991) 43 argues that 'there is no effigy of a province or representing a people' in the forum. However, even if the statue dedicated by Baetica was of Augustus, the province was still represented within the display of the forum. See Lavan (2017) for the meaning of *pacata* in this inscription. The *elogium* of Appius Claudius Caecus records that he prevented (*prohibuit*) *pax* with Pyrrhus (*ILS* 54).

⁶⁶ Geiger (2008) 6 argues that whilst there was a precedent for the display of heroes in the forum Romanum, 'the very assemblage and forging of these parts into a new entity constituted something totally new and unheard of, not least because of the precise circumstances of the project and the unique standing of its initiator'; see also Taraproewalla (2010) 154 for the creation of imperial fora as places separate from, and not in competition with, the Republican history of the Roman forum.

⁶⁷ Dio Cass. 55.10.3; Geiger (2008) 84–5.

is to say, imperial peace. This is particularly pronounced in the display of the *summi viri*: the term *triumphavit* and its derivatives occur frequently in the extant *elogia*, mainly from the south-east colonnade, where nearly all identified figures were *triumphatores*.⁶⁸ Whilst the extant *tituli* from the north-west side of the *gens Iulia* do not seem to emphasize, or be able to offer, a display of *triumphatores*, it appears that at least the *tituli* of Tiberius and his son Drusus demonstrate how the *gens Iulia* now played a major role in Rome's victory display: [Nero] Cl[a]udiu[s] Ti(beri) f(ilius) / [Dru]sus German[i]cus / [co(n)s(ul)] pr(aetor) urb(anus) q(uaestor) aug(ur) imp(erator) / [app]ellatus in Germania (CIL VI 4033).⁶⁹

Whilst the Parthian arch was to be a *terminus* for the recording of the triumph and presentation of the continuation of *imperium domi*, the display in the forum Augustum was to allow for a continual articulation of those awarded triumphal honours. The senate endorsed the location of the forum Augustum as the centre of victory celebrations and established Augustus as the focal point of such celebrations, dedicating the quadriga statue group to Augustus *Pater Patriae*.⁷⁰

By the time of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum in 2 BC, following the death of Phraates, the issue of Rome's relations with Parthia and influence over Armenia was again addressed.⁷¹ In AD 1 Augustus' grandson and adopted son Gaius Caesar met the new Parthian king, Phraataces, son of Phraates IV, on the Euphrates to negotiate their respective influences in the area (Vell. Pat. 2.101; Dio Cass. 55.10a.4). Gaius had been sent out from Rome to take charge of the legions on the Danube, although Ovid also marks his departure from Rome with further Parthian triumphs, and indeed highlights the coup over the Parthian throne: *hostis ab invito*

⁶⁸ Appius Claudius Caecus (ILS 54) appears as the only non-*triumphator* in the extant inscriptions. Geiger (2008) 143 points out that this means Suetonius' comment that all the statues were of those who had received triumphal honours (Suet. *Aug* 31.5: *statuas omnium triumphali effigie*) 'must be seen as a somewhat loose description of the precise state of affairs'. Nevertheless, Appius' role in foreign policies is emphasized, as is his building of the temple of Bellona.

⁶⁹ The role of the north-west display seems more concerned with presenting the *gens Iulia* as an integral part of the *urbs Romae* since its foundation; see Geiger (2008) 129–37.

⁷⁰ RG 35; Zanker (1988) 214.

⁷¹ Up until Phraates' murder, the diplomacy of 20 BC appears to have, for the most part, held, and indeed in 10/9 BC the king sent his heirs to live in Rome: Romer (1979) 200–2; Campbell (1993) 223–4.

regna parente rapit. (Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.198). However, no real need was felt to address the issue of Parthia immediately, particularly as Gaius' meeting with Phraataces took place almost two years later.⁷²

Whether or not the situation in Armenia and Parthia presented a true threat in 2 BC, the display at Rome, with the dedication of the incomplete temple of Mars Ultor and the display of the standards, suggests the reaffirmation of an overtly military victory, which most likely was associated with Gaius Caesar's departure and his assured victory.⁷³ The dedication of the standards in the temple can certainly be understood in the specific context of a renewed Parthian campaign and programme (Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.177–228). The role of the temple of Mars Ultor within the forum Augustum as the epicentre of military–political activity in Rome and the location from which generals set out, combined with the display of the standards and the dedication of the temple on the eve of Gaius' departure, emphasizes the continued role of the standards in symbolizing and portending Roman success.⁷⁴

The potential conflict between the display of Romulus as the first *triumphator* (as represented on the *Fasti Triumphales*) and the connections to be drawn between Romulus' dedication of the *spolia opima* (Livy 1.10.6–7) is resolved with the deposit of the standards in the temple of Mars Ultor in the forum Augustum. Not only did Augustus set up a new record of Roman history in the display of the *elogia* of the *summi viri* and the *tituli* of the pacified provinces against the display of the Parthian arch, but he also reintroduced Romulus as the first dedicator of the *spolia opima* within that new display.⁷⁵

⁷² Romer (1979) 201 n. 6 suggests that the coup had probably taken place before Gaius left Rome. Dio Cass. 55.10.17–20 places Gaius' departure before the events in Armenia and Parthia, although he does not record the death of Phraates IV, and merely records that Phraataces, on learning of Gaius' expedition, sent a delegation to Augustus (55.10.20).

⁷³ Dio Cass. 55.10.18–19; Gruen (1985) 66; Rose (2005) 45–50, 53–4 for the base from Corinth which may commemorate Gaius' (hoped-for) Parthian victory.

⁷⁴ Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.179–82: *Parthe, dabis poenas: Crassi gaudete sepulti, / signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus. / ultor adest, primisque ducem proficitur in annis, / bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer* ('Parthia, you will pay the price; rejoice you deceased Crassi and you standards which have not borne barbarian handling well. The avenger's here, the leader, proclaimed, of tender years, and a boy wages war's un-boy-like agenda').

⁷⁵ For the possible reference to a triumph of Romulus in the forum Augustum, see: Geiger (2008) 138 n. 72.

Certainly, Ovid suggests that the focus of the display is one of arms captured:

*perspicit in foribus diversae tela figurae,
armaque terrarum milite victa suo.
hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;
hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,
claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.*

(Ov. *Fast.* 5.561–6)

He perceived the weapons of various figures on the doors, and the arms of the lands conquered by his soldier. Here he sees Aeneas burdened by the dear weight and many ancestors of the Iulian nobility; here he sees the son of Ilia bearing the arms of a leader on his shoulders and well-known deeds displayed under the men set up in order.

The articulation of Aeneas bearing the past and future of the Iulian line set opposite Romulus bearing the first dedication of arms places Augustus, whose name adorned the temple set between the two displays, and the dedication of the *signa recepta* as the continuation and culmination of the display of Roman victory (Ov. *Fast.* 5.567).⁷⁶ Ovid, furthermore, emphasizes the role of the Parthian standards within the historical display of *arma victa*:

persequitur Parthi signa retenta manu.
.
.
.
*signa, decus belli, Parthus Romana tenebat,
Romanaeque aquilae signifer hostis erat;*
.
.
.
agnorunt signa recepta suos.
*quid tibi nunc solitae mitti post terga sagittae,
quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi?*
Parthe, refers aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus:
pignora iam nostri nulla pudoris habes.
rite deo templumque datum nomenque bis ulto.

(Ov. *Fast.* 5.580, 585–6, 590–5)

⁷⁶ The centrality of these two images of Aeneas and Romulus to Augustan and Julio-Claudian imagery can be seen in the art of the late Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods, most notably in a Claudian frieze which includes a *pompa* of the divine Augustus. On the *tensa* is depicted the flight of Aeneas and the discovery of the Lavinium sow, and Romulus with the *spolia opima*; Virtus, accompanied by Honos, guides the wagon: see Schäfer (2013). See also the forum sculptures from Corduba and Emerita Augusta: Castillo (2013).

He seeks the standards held back by Parthian hands . . . The Parthian was holding the Roman standards, the glory of war, and the standard-bearer of the Roman eagle was the enemy . . . the returned standards recognized their own people. What now of the arrows accustomed to be fired from behind your back? What use is there for your places and swift horses? Parthian, return the eagles, and hand over your defeated bows. Now you have no pledge of our shame. The temple and the name are rightly given to the god, twice avenging.

The return and dedication of the Parthian standards in the temple of Mars Ultor exemplify not only the concept of revenge, but also the display of defeated and 'pacified' nations within the commemoration of conquest and empire. Ovid's treatment of the forum Augustum articulates the play between the portrayal of great triumphal heroes of Rome's past (*claraque dispositis acta subesse viris*) and of the 'pacified' nations (*arma victa*). The imagery is all of war and weaponry, and yet the standards are also perceived as *pignora* ('pledges') through which Parthia has sought the *fides et pax* with Rome.⁷⁷

The forum Augustum was an arena of Roman victory display within which foreign nations came to negotiate *pax* with Rome. The 'pacified' nations were represented through *tituli*, which demonstrated their relationship to Rome: Baetica termed itself a *provincia pacata*. The standards are in one sense the representation of Parthia at Rome and of Rome's relationship with Parthia. The display within the forum Augustum was the translation from the display of the Parthian arch as a specific form of commemorating the Parthian achievement to a wider display of empire. Yet the Parthians are not being treated in the same rhetorical way as other subject states. The standards are not a representation of the Parthian nation, but are Roman standards reclaimed and then displayed in the context of

⁷⁷ RG 32: *ad me rex Parthorum Phrates Orodis filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum suorum pignora petens. plurimaeque aliae gentes expertae sunt p. R. fidem me principe quibus antea cum populo Romano nullum extiterat legationum et amicitiae commercium* ('Phraates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent all his sons and grandsons to me in Italy not because he was conquered in war, but because he sought our friendship through the pledges of his children. And many other nations experienced the good faith of the Roman people during my Principate who never before had had any interchange of embassies or of friendship with the Roman people').

the forum space. Certainly, Parthia above any other nation was seen and represented as a rival to the Roman state. The failure of previous Roman generals to bring the Parthian empire under the control of Rome serves to enhance Augustus' achievement in securing the return of the standards. The dedication of the standards also stands as testimony and proof of Augustus' power to compel foreign leaders to seek peace within a space which articulated Rome's long history of victory, with the *princeps* highlighted within the display through the senatorial quadriga statue and his name, dedicating the temple to Mars Ultor, set over and above all the other *elogia*.

The power of the return of the standards and the apparent subjugation of Parthia to Roman *imperium* as a means of perpetuating an idea of imperial peace extended beyond the monumental public displays in both the Roman and Augustan fora. The Prima Porta statue of Augustus exemplified the return of the Parthian standards as central to the rhetoric of the security and peace brought to the empire through the action of restoration. On the centre of Augustus' cuirass is depicted a Parthian returning the standards to Rome.⁷⁸ Above is a depiction of the heavens, together with Sol and Luna, whilst below reclines a female figure with a cornucopia and two children—the personification of the Earth,—with Apollo and Diana depicted slightly higher up on the cuirass flank with a female deity. To the left and right of the central scene are the personifications of defeated

⁷⁸ Rose (2005) argues that the figure on the left is Roma; see also Parisi Presicce (2013) 120–2. Other interpretations include Tiberius and Mars Ultor: Zanker (1988) 189; Rose (2005) 25 n. 24. Buxton (2012) offers a new reading of the statue, arguing that it commemorates the restoration of the eagle of the Legio V Alaudae lost in 17 BC to the Sugambri, and dates the statue to c.13 BC. Such a reading does not negate the arguments made here, as the message of the returned standards resonated across the various displays from 34 BC (return of the Dalmatian standards) down to the campaigns in Gaul and Spain in 16–13 BC (RG 29.1). Nevertheless, the Parthian standards do appear to hold a special place in the collective memory: RG 29.2; Ov. *Fast.* 5.579–96; Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.6–8, *Epist.* 1.12.27–8; *RIC* I² Augustus 41, 58, 60, 80–7, 103–21, 131–7, 287–9, 304–5, 314–15, 508–10. What is often overlooked is that on the left flank on the back of the cuirass is carved a small *tropaeum*. Whilst it was not a focal point of the display, given its low relief on the carving and the general lack of detail of the back (see Buxton (2012) 279 for the possible placement of the statue against a wall or in a niche), it does allude to the idea of the return of the standards as a form of trophy or *spolia*; cf. Strabo 6.2.4, 16.1.28 for the standards as trophies (to the Parthians). Hölscher (1988) 387–8 is one of the few to properly comment on this, noting that there is also the wing of a Victory, and takes these details to indicate that the statue is a copy of a more elaborate original (see n. 80).

nations, often identified with Spain and Gaul.⁷⁹ Of course, the context and display of the statue are problematic, since it was found in a private, villa context, and its actual date is unclear.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the iconography of the display stresses the central importance of Augustus' Parthian victory to the perpetuation of the new age of peace and security over the empire.⁸¹

Such imagery is later echoed in the historical accounts of the establishment of Rome's empire, as exemplified in the idea of the *pax Romana*. The second century author Florus, who compiled his history from the works of Livy, reflects the idea of peace brought about through the return of the Parthian standards as a form of ultimate victory:

Parthi quoque, quasi victoriae paeniteret, rapta clade Crassiana signa ultor rettulere. sic ubique certa atque continua totius generis humani aut pax fuit aut pactio, aususque tandem Caesar Augustus septingentesimo ab urbe condita anno Ianum Geminum cludere, bis ante se clusum sub Numa rege et victa primum Carthagine. (Flor. 2.34)

The Parthians also, as if they regretted their victory, of their own accord returned the standards of Crassus, which were seized in defeat. So on all sides there was certain and continuous peace or accord for the people of every race, and at length Caesar Augustus dared, in the seven-hundredth year⁸² from the city's foundation, to shut (the gates of)

⁷⁹ Rose (2005) 27; Zanker (1988) 189 suggests the right hand figure represents the Gallic tribes of the West, including Spain, whilst the figure on the left either represents a tributary people in the East, or Germany.

⁸⁰ Simpson (2005) on the issues of dating the statue. It has often been supposed that the statue was a copy of a bronze version displayed in Rome: for Zanker (1988) 189 it was a senatorial monument set up in 19 BC; see also Pollini (2012) 187, whilst Parisi Presicce (2013) 127–8 sees it as the bronze statue set on the top of the Mausoleum; cf. Strabo 5.3.8. Hölscher (1988) 387 argues for a gold or silver original set up in a central location at Rome. Buxton (2012) 279 sensibly argues against the need for a bronze original.

⁸¹ In a similar fashion, the Gemma Augustea offers a world view of Rome's *imperium* through Augustus' achievements as a Jupiter-like figure. In the bottom register the subjugation of Celtic or Germanic peoples is represented, literally subsumed to Rome's power, whilst in the upper register Augustus is celebrated by Oikoumenē, Terra Mater, Oceanus, and Roma. There is no firm date for the Gemma Augustea, though in all likelihood it postdates AD 4 and Tiberius' adoption by Augustus. See Hölscher (1988) 371–3.

⁸² Florus is clearly rounding down to 700 years, since the gates of Janus were closed in 29 BC (AUC 725) and in 25 BC (AUC 729); RG 13 and Suet. *Aug.* 22.1 mention a third closure, but the date is uncertain.

Janus Geminus, which had twice before been shut under King Numa and after the first defeat of Carthage.

It is striking that Florus chooses the diplomatic negotiations with the Parthians as his concluding account of the sum of all Rome's wars, despite that fact that his account deals with wars that occur after 20 BC.⁸³ The *pax Parthorum* was an expression of Rome's sovereignty over the world. The Parthians had gained special status as the only real rival to Rome. As has already been discussed, their depictions in literature were not grounded in ethnographic reality and also retrospectively projected Augustan rhetoric onto the narrative of Rome's earlier contacts with her rival.⁸⁴ Their position within Rome's rhetoric of power was constructed in order to demonstrate both the potential threat they posed and Rome's success as a world-ruler.⁸⁵ It is perhaps indicative of the link between the *pax Parthorum* and Augustus' *imperium* over the empire that both Velleius and Florus correlate the return of the standards with the taking of the name of Augustus, although the name was awarded to him seven years before the return of the standards.⁸⁶ Certainly, Florus' presentation seems to echo the themes suggested by the Parthian arch, forum Augustum, and Prima Porta statue: that the restoration of the Parthian standards represented the culmination of Augustus' foreign policy as the establishment of a new *saeculum*, which in itself is defined by, and offers an expression of, peace.⁸⁷

⁸³ Florus' report of Augustus' foreign wars (2.22–34) show a disregard for chronology, instead focusing on the geographical spread of conquest and pacification. Furthermore, it is possible that Florus was in fact following Livy's account of the episode, since the *Periochae* also state that *pax* was made with the Parthians on receipt of the standards: Livy *Per.* 141.

⁸⁴ See above in the section "The Year of "Returns".

⁸⁵ The rhetoric on the position of Parthia within Rome's world view may be a possible continuation or development of the rhetoric surrounding the special status of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BC, as powerful thalassocracies that could challenge Rome's position, but which were ultimately to become symbols of Rome as an empire-ruler: see Purcell (1995).

⁸⁶ Vell. Pat. 2.91.1; Flor. 2.34.

⁸⁷ Flor. 2.34: *hinc conversus ad pacem primum in omnia mala et in luxuriam fluens saeculum gravibus severisque legibus multis coercuit* ('next devoting himself to securing peace, by many strict and severe enactments he restrained an age which was prone to every vice and readily led to luxury'). The conquest of Parthia, seen as representing orientalism and luxury, then reflects or foreshadows Augustus' conquest of morals and the preparation for the new age.

The integration of peace into Roman victory rhetoric in this period relied both on the continuation of the concept of peace as an agreement between two parties and on the growing association of the concept with that of *imperium*. In the *Ludi Saeculares* and associated and perpetuated commemorations are the early vestiges of the *pax Romana* that Pliny would describe as instrumental in bringing about an interconnected world for the benefit of all (Pliny *HN* 27.1.1).

The *Pax Augusta*

*ipsum nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram:
haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.
dum desint hostes, desit quoque causa triumphi:
tu ducibus bello gloria maior eris.
sola gerat miles, quibus arma coerceat, arma,
canteturque fera nil nisi pompa tuba.
horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis:
siqua parum Romam terra timebat, amet.
tura, sacerdotes, Pacalibus addite flammis,
albaque perfusa victima fronte cadat;
utque domus, quae praestat eam, cum pace perennet
ad pia propensos vota rogate deos.
sed iam prima mei pars est exacta laboris,
cumque suo finem mense libellus habet.*

(Ov. *Fast.* 1.709–24)

The song itself has led us down to the altar of Peace: this will be the second day from the end of the month. Come Peace, your elegant hair wreathed with Actian laurels, and stay as a mild presence in the whole world. As long as enemies are wanting, so too is the cause of triumph: you will be a greater glory than war for leaders. May the soldier only carry arms to restrain arms, and the fierce trumpet sing only in procession. May the world near and far tremble at the sons of Aeneas: if any land was too little afraid of Rome, let it love her. You priests add incense to the peaceful flames and let the white sacrificial victim fall, with libation-soaked brow; and ask the gods who are favourable towards pious prayer that the house that is responsible for peace, may with peace endure through the years. But now the first part of my task is complete, and the book has an end together with its month.

At the end of his first book of the *Fasti*, Ovid offers a fitting closure to the month, with a eulogy to peace, prompted by the dedication of the ara Pacis Augustae and accompanying (and annual) *supplicatio* ceremony on 30 January.¹ The concept of *pax* is appraised as the theme of the book. It dominates the month, in a way unrivalled in the other five books, not only with the word appearing ten times in comparison to the nine times across the remainder of the work, but also through the prominent role of Janus, as a keeper of peace (*Fast.* 1.63–288), and Germanicus, whose triumphs have secured peace that will be eternal (*Fast.* 1.285–8). Indeed, the repetition of *causa triumphi* in lines 285 and 713 heightens the link between the inevitable subjugation of all Rome's enemies and the achievement of peace.² Certainly, Ovid capitalizes on the date of dedication as opposed on the date of consecration of the altar on 4 July 13 BC, as a monument that commemorates, and is a culmination of, the imperial concepts of peace that he has engaged with throughout the book.³

¹ See Green (2004b) 322–8 for Ovid's Eulogy of Augustan 'Peace'. Fantham (1985) 259 on Ovid's choice of the January dedication rather than the consecration date of 4 July (13 BC) as the appropriate moment to celebrate the peace of the altar. For the consecration, see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.188–9 (*Fasti Amiternini*), 208 (*Fasti Antiates*) for the date of consecration. For the dedication and *supplicatio* on 30 January, see *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.279 (*feriale Cumanum*): [*eo dia ara Pacis Aug. dedicata*] *est. supplicatio imperio Caesaris Augusti cust[odis civium Romanorum orbisque terrar?]um*, also XIII 2.65 (*Fasti Caeretani*), 116–17 (*Fasti Praenestini*), 160–1 (*Fasti Verulani*); see also RG 12 for the annual sacrifice.

² *Ov. Fast.* 1.285–6: *pax erat, et vestri, Germanice, causa triumphi, / tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus aquas* ('There was peace, and the cause of your triumph, Germanicus, the Rhine had already handed to you its waters as slaves'). Green (2004b) 131 stresses that it is unlikely that Ovid is referring to Germanicus' actual triumph on 26 May AD 17, as the poet is generally believed to have died early in the same year, but rather to a senatorial decree on 1 January AD 15 awarding Germanicus the triumph. Green also suggests that *vestri* may allude to not just Germanicus but the imperial family as a whole.

³ For the prominence and role of *pax* in book 1 and its associations with the *domus Augusta*, see Fantham (1985) 258–9; Pasco-Pranger (2006) 198–200. Newlands (1995) 126–7 notes that Ovid places Pax at the end of book 1 and Concordia at the beginning of book 6 as a complementary pairing of peace, though she also remarks on the aspect of discord associated with Concordia. Green (2004b) 322 notes that Ovid might be 'wittingly playing about with opposing philosophies of "peace"' through his use of a framework for eulogizing an idealized peace to present an Augustan peace, though he also points out that the concept of peace as producing fear in one's enemies was readily accepted in Roman thought. Of course, given that the *Fasti* only cover the first six months of the year, we do not know whether Ovid might have also used the consecration date as well.

Ovid's conceptualization of Augustan Peace offers an insight into what the ara Pacis might come to symbolize at the time of his writing (and revising) of the *Fasti*, decades after the initial commemoration.⁴ The concept of peace established during the formation of what became the Principate was made concrete in the ara Pacis Augustae, whose image and ideals were perpetuated in the displays of the later Julio-Claudian *principes*, the Flavian dynasty, and through to Hadrian's erection of a wall to protect the altar due to the rising ground level. The *pax augusta* articulated a concept of peace that acted as the vehicle for expressing what Roman imperialism was and how it should be understood—an ideal of empire that was intimately associated with an individual and then his household: just as ideas of imperialism orbited around the person of Augustus, so too did peace receive a new orientation.

Augustus commemorated the dedication of the ara Pacis Augustae in his *Res Gestae*:

cum ex Hispania Galliaque, rebus in iis provinciis prospere gestis, Romam redi Ti Nerone P. Quintilio consulibus aram Pacis Augustae senatus pro reditu meo consacrandum censuit ad campum Martium, in qua magistratus et sacerdotes virginesque Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit. (RG 12)

When I returned from Spain and Gaul to Rome during the consulship of Tiberius Nero and Publius Quintilius, having successfully concluded affairs in the provinces, the senate voted that an altar of Augustan Peace should be consecrated on the Campus Martius for my return, where it ordered the magistrates and priests and Vestal virgins to make an annual sacrifice.

His account should be understood within the context of his campaigns in Gaul and Spain. The phrase *rebus in iis provinciis prospere gestis* refers back to an earlier section of the text where Augustus discussed the triumphal honours he had received. He recorded that because he had concluded affairs prosperously (RG 4.2: *ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas*), the senate decreed fifty-five *supplicationes* to the gods.⁵ The phrase *res prospere gestae* is a reference to Augustus'

⁴ Fantham (1985) 256–63, esp. 258–9 on the reworking of book 1 after Tiberius' accession; see also Pasco-Pranger (2006) 187–200. On the issue of Ovid's revision in exile, see Green (2004b) 15–25.

⁵ The reference to *auspiciis* shows that the affairs were conducted under Augustus' *imperium*, and clearly are military campaigns.

victories in war, which he recorded in the previous sentence: *laurum de fascibus deposui in Capitolio, votis quae bello nuncupaveram solutis* (RG 4.1: 'I deposited the laurel from the fasces in the Capitoline temple, since I had fulfilled the vows which I had undertaken during war'). Furthermore, Dio records that on Augustus' return in 13 he laid the laurel from his fasces in the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁶ It is evident in the accounts of both Augustus himself and Dio that the return was conceived as a moment of victory, embodied in the dedication of the laurels of his *imperium*.

However, Augustus' account of the altar should be understood not just within its historical context, but also in the context of his *Res Gestae*.⁷ His account of the ara Pacis is preceded by that of the ara Fortunae Reducis, and a comparison of the two accounts is valuable:

aram Fortunae Reducis ante aedes Honoris et Virtutis ad portam Capenam pro reditu meo senatus consecravit, in qua pontifices et virgines Vestales anniversarium sacrificium facere iussit eo die, quo consulibus Q. Lucretio et M. Vinicio in urbem ex Syria redieram, et diem Augustalia ex cogomine nostro appellavit. (RG 11)

The senate consecrated for my return the Altar of Fortune the Returner in front of the temple of Honour and Virtue at the Capena gate, and it ordered that the priests and Vestal virgins make annual sacrifices at this altar on that day, when during the consulship of Q. Lucretius and M. Vinicius I returned to the city from Syria, and the senate named the day Augustalia after my name.

Both accounts comprise the same grammatical units: the name of the altar, its location, the reason for its consecration by the senate, the annual sacrifice, the date, and the location from which Augustus returned. However, the arrangement of these units differs in the

⁶ Dio Cass. 54.25.4: καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελθὼν τήν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περεῖλε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο ('and going up to the Capitol he took the laurel from the fasces and laid it in the lap of Jupiter'). Votive Games were also held for Jupiter Optimus Maximus to celebrate Augustus' return: ILS 88.

⁷ It should be remembered that the *Res Gestae* as published at Rome in AD 14 is only one presentation of the ways in which the Roman Empire and Roman imperialism were conceptualized. Greg Rowe suggested in a paper entitled 'A Commemoration of commemorations: the *Res Gestae* in the context of Augustan epigraphy', given at the Epigraphic Workshop, Oxford 6 June 2011, that the *Res Gestae* is a compilation of senatorial honours to Augustus rather than a purely autobiographical account; see also Rowe (2013) 11 for the form of the document as a list of honours, and 14 for the 'architecture' of the *Res Gestae*. See also Scheid (2007) xliii–lxii on the problems of defining the nature and genre of the document.

two passages. What is notable about Augustus' account is that he postpones the geographical detail about Syria until the end of the account of the ara Fortuna Reducis, whilst he begins his account of the ara Pacis with the detail of Spain and Gaul. In this way he emphasizes the geographical implications of his campaigns and the monuments set up to commemorate them: the ara Fortuna Reducis commemorated the triumph over the East, whilst the ara Pacis celebrated the victories in the West. Augustus then goes on to tie this pair of monuments to the concept of imperial *pax* with the account of the closing of the gates of Janus: *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax* (RG 13). Through the arrangement of these three chapters, Augustus is implying that the monuments that commemorate his conquest of the East and West are emblematic of *totum imperium terra marique*. Thus, within the context of the *Res Gestae*, the ara Pacis is a testimony to the extent and completion of *imperium*, as a display of *pax*, achieved through victories. In this document, finalized in AD 13 and published the following year, the ara Fortuna Reducis and the ara Pacis serve to illustrate the totality of Roman *imperium* as expressed as *parta victoriis pax*.

Augustus' account of the role and purpose of the ara Pacis belongs to his presentation of Roman *imperium* at the very end of his life. The ara Pacis was, however, decreed by the senate on 4 July 13 BC for the return of Augustus to Rome and dedicated on 30 January 9 BC on the Campus Martius. Therefore, it may plausibly be understood as an ostensibly senatorial monument, presenting the celebration within the context of Rome's sphere of military display.

THE ALTAR OF AUGUSTAN PEACE

Pax had played a central role in the debates about the Roman state throughout the decades of civil wars and the restructuring of the state that followed; yet the representations of the concept as a divine quality are limited to the coinage of 44 (Fig. 2.1) and that of 28 (Fig. 3.3).⁸ There is no extant evidence of a true cult to *Pax* until the

⁸ Another depiction of *Pax* appears on a coin minted by the duoviri of Pelle in 25 BC (*PACIS*): RPC 1529.

consecration of the ara Pacis Augustae in 13 BC.⁹ Moreover, it is worth stressing that the altar was not the focus for the worship of Pax, but specifically Pax Augusta. The name 'Augustus' had been assigned to Octavian on 16 January 27 BC, chosen, Suetonius tells us, because sacred places and sites of augury were called *augusta*, and Rome herself was 'founded by august augury' (*Aug. 7.2: augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est*).¹⁰ By qualifying the nature of peace as 'august/augustan' the link between the princeps and the establishment of peace was made explicit.¹¹

Archaeological Remains and Location

The remains of the monument found under the corner of via in Lucina and via del Giardino Theodoli, 30 m from via del Corso, are agreed to be those of the altar sanctioned by the senate to commemorate the return of Augustus in 13 (Fig. 5.1).¹² The monument

⁹ Clark (2007) 8–9. For a cult of Pax under Caesar, see Weinstock (1960) 46–7; Heatley (1976) 17–20; Clark (2007) 8 n. 15, 105–6. Tib. 1.10.67–8 (published between late 27/26 BC) does appear to evoke Pax as a deity; see also Lee-Stecum (1998) 277–85.

¹⁰ The name 'Romulus' was initially suggested in order to underline Octavian's role as the second founder of the city. However, Plancus put forward the more appropriate (no allusions to monarchy or fratricide) Augustus.

¹¹ On the use of the epithet after 27 BC, see Fears (1981b) 884–9; Hornum (1993) 37–40; Lott (2004) 107–10 on the application of the epithet to the Lares and other new 'august' state gods. The specific association of *pax* with the name and person of Augustus can be seen in the post-Actian celebrations of the foundation of the colonies Pax Iulia (Beja) and Forum Iulii Colonia Octavianorum Pacensis Classica (Fréjus). Forum Iulii was refounded from the Iulian colony in 30 BC for the fleet veterans: Ramage (1997) 121. The colony of Pax Iulia has been assigned by some to Caesar: Weinstock (1960) 46; Ramage (1998) 440, esp. nn. 38 and 169, and by others to Augustus' colonies after Actium: Faria (2001). I disagree with Ramage (1998) n. 38 that *pax* is 'best associated with Caesar . . . because it was not a particularly Augustan virtue'. Strabo 3.2.15 in fact refers to the colony of Pax Augusta 'in the Celtic country', possibly identifiable with Pax Iulia. See also Momigliano (1942b) on the different ideas encompassed in the name Pax Augusta. The provincial coinage of Pax Iulia depicts the bare head of Augustus on the obverse, and *PAX IVL(ia)* as a seated figure holding the caduceus and cornucopia on the reverse: RPC 52.

¹² The first finds from the site were recorded in 1569 in a letter of Cardinal Ricci da Montepulciano: Moretti (1948) 3; Vickers (1975) 109. For (selective) scholarship on the discovery, excavations, and identification, see von Duhn (1881); Moretti (1948); La Rocca (1983); Bianchi (1994); Torelli (1999); Claridge (2010) 207–213; Foresta (2002); Rossini (2006). Crow (2006) incorrectly states that the altar was 'originally erected on the orders of Augustus', whilst Rehak (2006) 98 argues that we should understand the altar as planned and designed by Augustus, not the senate. Weinstock (1960) 53 argues that we cannot positively identify the remains with the ara Pacis



Fig. 5.1 View of the west side of the ara Pacis Augustae showing the figural upper register and the acanthus scroll covering the lower register and pilasters on either side of the doorway and at the corners. Rome, Museo dell'Ara Pacis.

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comprises an almost square enclosure of Carrara marble, around a central *II*-shaped altar. A doorway on the east side led to the via Flaminia (via del Corso) at ground level, and another on the west side, to the Campus (1 m lower) via a ramp of nine steps. Two registers of decoration cover the exterior wall of the enclosure, divided by a meander band. The upper panels depict figural reliefs: on the longer north and south sides are processional friezes, moving from east to west, within which the figures of Augustus and Agrippa can be identified with some certainty, based on their portrait types. On the east side two short panels probably depict Roma and a female personification or allegorical figure, traditionally labelled as Tellus.¹³ On the west side two short panels depict the foundation myths of Rome: Aeneas sacrificing to the Penates, and the god Mars, possibly with the wolf and twins. The lower external register is decorated with an elaborate acanthus scroll motif, which covers

Augustae because 'neither is Pax on the altar nor her symbol, the caduceus, nor is her name inscribed on it'.

¹³ Berzcelly (1985) 96 criticizes this general and somewhat entrenched assumption.

all four sides, with further acanthus leaves adorning the Corinthian pilasters which frame the corners and doorways. The interior wall also has two registers, divided by a palmette band. The upper register is decorated with bucrania, garlands, and paterae, whilst the lower panels reproduce a wooden panelling. Inside the enclosure a podium of four steps supports a base decorated with a processional frieze, and a further four steps on the west side lead up to the altar table. The altar itself is also decorated with a processional sacrificial.¹⁴ Further fragments from the lower sections of the altar have been suggested as personifications of provinces or peoples. It is tempting on this interpretation to understand a depiction of the *pacati populi* in terms of the *pax* described by Livy (1.19.3: *clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret*), but the remains are highly fragmentary and their place on the altar is uncertain.¹⁵

The monument's proximity to the via Flaminia must have ensured a high level of visibility to the people moving in both directions along the road, and was a marker and a *monumentum*, in the fullest sense of the word, of Augustus' return from the western provinces.¹⁶

¹⁴ For a discussion of the fragmentary friezes of the altar base and altar table: Moretti (1948) 83–9; Rossini (2006) 22–5, 95–7.

¹⁵ Rossini (2006) 94–7.

¹⁶ On location as a place of *adventus*, see Torelli (1999) 70; see also Gallia (2002) 189 for both the ara Pacis and the ara Fortunae Reducis. Torelli (1982) 29 has argued that the monument was 'exactly one mile from the pomerial line', which he sees as emphasizing the change from *imperium militiae* to *imperium domi* (on the issues of this division, see Drogula (2007)). This has been accepted by Favro (1996) 269; Chaisemartin (2003) 128; Lange (2009) 128. If Torelli's theory is correct, it would add another dimension to the aspect of victorious return (see Drogula (2007) 435, esp. n. 117 on the rituals performed on crossing the *pomerium*). However, there is no evidence to support his claim, as we have no indication of the Augustan pomerial zone. The altar itself stood about 1.2 km (so almost 300 m short of one Roman mile) from the city walls (see Haselberger (2007) 154), whilst the Campus Martius was located within the first milestone (see Drogula (2007) 438–9), which was also an important boundary in terms of Augustus' powers as it marked the point up to which his tribunician power extended: Dio Cass. 51.19.6; see Carlà (2015) 619–20 for the distinction between the *pomerium* and the *urbs* and Dio's confusion as regards the limits of Augustus' tribunician power; cf. Livy 3.20.6–7 for tribunician power extending to the first milestone and as the limit of *provocatio*; see also Magdelain (1977) 12–13. Nevertheless, the placement of the altar on the Campus Martius and just off a main artery into the city is of significance and should, I believe, be understood within the context of the maintenance of the roads and the redefinition of the limits of the city in this period. Augustus restored in via Flaminia in 27 (RG 20; Suet. Aug. 30; Dio Cass. 53.22; ILS 84); in 20 he saw to the maintenance of the *viae* in Rome, erecting the *milliarum aureum* (Dio Cass. 54.8); in 8 BC, whilst conducting a *lustrum*, he 'redrew' the *pomerium* (Dio Cass. 55.6.6 states that he 'increased' (ἐπηύξησε) it), most likely in

Furthermore, the processional friezes on the north and south sides both move towards the Campus Martius, directing the audience towards the main entrance of the altar. This visual direction ensures a move from the route into Rome to the military centre of the city, the destination for returning armies. The striking arrangement of an altar to Pax set up on the Field of Mars emphasizes the structure as a triumphal monument, and the dependency of peace on military victories.

THE MEANING(S) OF THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

Several scholars have sought to find Pax represented on her own monument, taking the central figure ('Tellus') of the south-east panel to in fact be the goddess herself (Fig. 5.2).¹⁷ The desire to find one single depiction of the goddess may, however, be misleading, implying that this relief should be read as the focal point of the monument. This is not to deny that the 'Tellus' panel depicts an

preparation for the redivision of the city he undertook the following year (Suet. *Aug.* 29–30.2; Dio Cass. 55.8.6–7); see Lott (2004) 84–98 on the 'mechanics' of Augustus' reforms of the *vici*, and 88–9 on the 'redrawing' of the *pomerium* in relation to Dio's presentation. In addition, Augustus also appears to have seen to the restoration of some of the old city gates of the Severian wall, through shifting the zone from one of enclosure to a controlled 'open city': see Haselberger (2007) 222–36, esp. 230; S. Stevens (2017) 70. Such activities suggest the importance of not only marking and controlling movement in and around the *urbs*, but also the divisions and limits of administration, jurisdiction, and military power. Furthermore, Augustus' development of the northern Campus Martius since 29 created a new 'urban' space at the entrance into the city: Haselberger (2002) 75–7; Haselberger (2007) 32, 36, 62–4, 154, 168–76, 224. The importance of the altar's position in relation to the *urbs* is emphasized by the later pomerial extension under Vespasian, which sought to include the monument whilst excluding the area set aside for future imperial cremations: see Rodríguez-Almeida (1978–80). My thanks to Saskia Stevens for discussing these issues with me prior to the publication of her book *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy* (S. Stevens (2017)).

¹⁷ Zanker (1988) 172–9; de Grummond (1990); Claridge (2010) 211; Rehak (2006) 112. Weinstock (1960) 53 concludes neither Pax nor her attributes appear on the altar. See Toynbee (1961) for a review and critique of Weinstock. Simon (2001) has suggested that the caduceus was part of the monument, as an attribute of Mercury, whom she places behind Mars on the west side of the altar. Her arguments are based on the role of Mercury in the foundation stories of Rome and on his association with peace negotiations.



Fig. 5.2 Relief sculpture of a female deity, often referred to as ‘Tellus’ or Pax, accompanied by two Aerae. Rome, Museo dell’Ara Pacis.

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aspect of Augustan Peace, or indeed that, on one reading, it is Pax Augusta; rather, it is a caveat to read the panel alongside, and as one part of, the entire display of the monument. It is notable that several scholars have, in fact, read the panel not as Pax but as a number of other possibilities: Terra Mater, Italia, Venus, Rhea Silvia, Ceres, and Livia.¹⁸ These interpretations have frequently been based on the presentation of these figures in literature: something Torelli and Berczelly have criticized.¹⁹ Whilst there is a danger of using literary evidence as tenuous support for one or other interpretation, this evidence does in fact provide a tool by which the ‘Tellus’ panel may be further understood. For Ovid, Terra, Ceres, and Pax were, though not exactly interchangeable, part of the same embodiment or process: Terra and Ceres are the mothers of the fruits of the earth (*Ov. Fast.* 1.671–3), and Pax nurtures Ceres with the stability she brings (*Ov.*

¹⁸ Terra Mater: Strong (1937); Momigliano (1942a); Moretti (1948); Ryberg (1949); Italia: van Buren (1913); Toynbee (1953); Simon (1967); Elsner (1991); Venus: Galinsky (1992); Rhea Silvia: Berczelly (1985); Ceres: Berczelly (1985); Spaeth (1994); Livia: Bartman (1998); Castriota (1995) 58–73, esp. 71 on the multi-valent iconography of the figure.

¹⁹ Torelli (1982) 40; Berczelly (1985).

Fast. 1.704).²⁰ Horace not only emphasizes the relationship between Tellus and Ceres (*Hor. Carm. Saec.* 29–30), but also represents the new age with the return of Fides, Pax, Honos, Pudor, and Virtus, which are accompanied by Copia bearing a full horn (*Hor. Carm. Saec.* 57–60). What the testimonies of Ovid and Horace illustrate is the diversity of personifications or qualities, and that there were a multitude of meanings associated with the *novum saeculum* and what would be commemorated as Augustan Peace. It is clear that the ‘Tellus’ figure on the ara Pacis embodied many of the attributes associated with a number of concepts and divinities. Clearly this is not to say that the figure does not portray the ideas of *pax* as they were understood at the time; indeed, I believe it is more enlightening to consider the panel, not as the sole representation of Pax, but rather as an aspect of the concept of *pax augusta*.²¹ The subtlety of the altar’s artwork, which builds on the visual rhetoric of a number of personifications and allegories, may indeed allow multiple, overlapping meanings.

The panel impresses upon the viewer the images of fecundity and prosperity (echoing the message of the acanthus scroll below) in the garland worn by ‘Tellus’, the fruits in her lap, the ox and sheep at her feet, and the babies in her arms. The central scene is flanked by two female figures with billowing veils: the one on the left rides a swan over reeds, and that on the right rides a ketos over the sea. These figures are most often interpreted as *Aurae*, although they have also been seen as *Horai*, and as a *Naiad* and *Nereid*.²² A comparison of these two figures with those of another version of the ‘Tellus’ panel will help emphasize their role within the monument.²³ A relief panel from Carthage appears as an exact copy of the ara Pacis ‘Tellus’ scene as regards the central figure, but the flanking figures suggest a different

²⁰ Ovid summarizes his account of the Day of Sowing (*Ov. Fast.* 1.655–704) with the relationship of Pax and Ceres, which is separated by only four lines from his treatment of the altar of Pax.

²¹ Castriota (1995) 71 suggests that the multivalent nature of the figure renders the need to distinguish goddess from qualities of peace irrelevant. See also Momigliano (1942b) 230; Toynbee (1953) 80; Fears (1981b) 885–6; Galinsky (1992) 457.

²² *Aurae*: *Hor. Carmen Saec.* 31–2: *aquae salubres / et Iovis aurae*; *Plin. HN* 36.29: *duaeque Aurae velificantes sua veste*; *Horai*: de Grummond (1990); *Naiad* and *Nereid*: Spaeth (1994) 78. Castriota (1995) 66–8 emphasizes that, like the central figure, the two flanking figures are ‘deliberate amalgamations’ of different iconographies.

²³ The Carthage relief, now in the Louvre Museum, measures 1.13 m × 0.80 m. See Picard (1934); Galinsky (1992) 228 warns of the hypothetical nature of the relationship between the Carthage relief and that on the ara Pacis.



Fig. 5.3 Carthage version of the 'Tellus' panel of the ara Pacis Augustae. Musée du Louvre.

© RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/Stéphane Maréchal.

reading (Fig. 5.3). On the right is a male figure, accompanied by a ketos and dolphin, whilst on the left, in the upper half of the relief is a female bust, holding a torch and another unidentifiable object. Baratte is hesitant to identify the figure as Caelestis, but it seems plausible that the figure in the upper half of the relief, and clearly separated from the lower half, is associated with the heavens; thus a triad of heaven, earth and sea is represented.²⁴ There is a hierarchical order to the relief, with heaven in the top left corner, 'Tellus' as the central focus and occupying the full height of the relief, and the triton filling roughly the bottom two-thirds of the right-hand side. The Carthage relief may well be a presentation of the *orbis terrarum* focused around a female figure of prosperity.

The tripartite structure is also apparent in the ara Pacis relief, although the display is far more complex and draws on other allusions besides the concept of the *orbis terrarum*.²⁵ As *Aurae velificantes*, both

²⁴ Baratte (2006) 277 and n. 29.

²⁵ Zanker (1988) 316 on the suppression of the *Aurae* into more 'concrete' conceptions on the Carthage relief; see also La Rocca (1983) 46 for the identification of air and water.

flanking figures represent something beyond simply sky and sea, for they both inhabit the aerial plane. They are secondary to the principal figure; yet they are not placed in opposing hemispheres, but equally in the central zone of the relief, directing the viewer's attention to the principal figure by the direction of their faces and bodies (notably their bent knees and their feet) along with the ketos's head turned to the centre, and the swan's wing. As Galinsky and Castriota have shown, the *Aurae* are in a sense attributes of Venus since their mounts are frequently associated with her.²⁶ In this respect all three figures are bound together as the embodiment of more than one iconographic message: the panel alludes not only to Venus Genetrix, but also to other concepts besides. Whilst the central figure is a clear allusion to the earth, the figure of the swan has also often been linked to the earth, for the water jug below is indicative of the fertility of the land. As *Aurae*, the two figures are representations of the salubrious breezes of land and sea that are part of, and extend from, the central figure as the prosperity of the earth.²⁷

The 'Tellus' panel offers a view of peace that expresses prosperity and fecundity, those qualities which are shared by the many female deities identified in the panel. Whichever deity we associate the figure with, it seems plausible that a Roman audience would have understood the figure to be a personification or representation of *pax*, but rather than looking to one individual panel to explain the meaning of the monument, we should consider that the *ara Pacis* builds up a complex display throughout its facade.²⁸

The size of the monument and the space given over to sculptural relief mean that the concept of *pax augusta* could be fully explored and expressed through mythological, allegorical, and contemporary scenes. More often than not, discussions of the sculptural decoration of the altar have focused on specific aspects, in both text and illustrations, so a reader is often misled as to the visually dominant aspects of the monument. The largest part of the exterior decoration is not the figurative friezes but the floral frieze.²⁹ As stated earlier, the frieze covered all four sides of the monument in the lower register as well as the pilasters.

²⁶ Galinsky (1992); Castriota (1995) 66–8.

²⁷ Rossini (2006) 36–9.

²⁸ Castriota (1995) 3; Caneva (2010) 29.

²⁹ See Caneva (2010) 31–112 for a detailed analysis of the 'botanical code' of the floral frieze; 115–216 for the compositional arrangement and message of the frieze; see also L'Orange (1962); Castriota (1995) 4–8, 13–14.

Moreover, it is at eye level with the viewer and conveys the ideas that prosperity and abundance support, and encompasses the ideals represented in the upper registers. It is unfortunate that, for the most part, scholarship has served to disconnect and distort our understanding of the relationship of the floral frieze to the upper reliefs in that they are constantly discussed separately and rarely shown together.³⁰ The acanthus scroll provides a visual constant throughout the exterior decoration. In this way it embodies the continuity of the ideals of *pax augusta*, connecting all the panels of the upper register under (or rather over!) one idea (Fig. 5.1). Under the centre of each of the upper panels, the central acanthus scroll unfurls, controlling and directing the focus to the middle of each scene. The acanthus scroll and its display of abundance project a message of the fertility, fruitfulness, and renewal that is the result of the *pax augusta*, understood through a variety of aspects and readings.³¹

Pax Augusta and Roma Victrix

The northern panel on the east side of the monument facing out towards the via Flaminia comprises the remains of a female seated on a pile of weapons, identified as Roma.³² The figure of Roma seated on spoils of war first appeared on coins in the late second and early first centuries on the coins of 115/4 (*RRC* 287, where Roma watches over the she-wolf and twins, although Roma first appears as a full figure standing and crowning a trophy in 119, *RRC* 281), and of 96 (*RRC* 335/1–2, where Roma is crowned by Victory).³³ This imagery

³⁰ Kellum (1994a) provides a good observation of this failure in scholarship and an analysis of the relevance of the acanthus frieze. Moretti (1948) pl. 3 and 4 provide an excellent example of the relationship between the upper and lower registers on the south and north sides, and amply demonstrate the size of the acanthus scroll, and indeed the podium of the altar; see also Cohon (2002); Caneva (2010) 29.

³¹ *Ov. Fast.* 1.704: *Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres*; cf. Tib. 1.10.45–50, 67–8; Momigliano (1942b); Castriota (1995) 21–2; Caneva (2010) 131–40 for the importance of colour in the complex readings of the floral frieze, 146–68 on the hierarchical and structural systems of the composition, and 211–16 on the variety and levels of reading.

³² The identification of the panel from its two remaining fragments was made by Studniczka (1909) 932–6.

³³ This coin would become the model for coinage minted by the Italians during the social war of 91–88 BC, where Roma was substituted for Italia as the victorious figure: Sydenham 622, 624.

continued to appear on the coinage in 60/59 and 48, whilst on an aes from the Greek East from 62–59, Roma was depicted carrying a Victory.³⁴ Prior to Nero there is no numismatic evidence from Rome that depicts Roma Victrix (seated and holding a Victory), and as a result the reconstructed Roma on the ara Pacis holds a sceptre, as in the first-century coins. However, a first-century AD relief on an altar from Carthage found in the vicinity of a temple building to the *gens Augusta* and a dedication by the *sacerdos perpetuus* P. Perelius Hedulus offers a possible parallel to the altar relief at Rome.³⁵ The relief depicts Roma seated on the spoils of war, holding Victory setting a clipeus upon a pillar (an allusion to the *clipeus virtutis* and Tarentum Victory dedicated in the Curia Iulia in 27), whilst opposite stands a base upon which is set a cornucopia, caduceus, and celestial globe (Fig. 5.4).³⁶ It is clear that there is a history of associating Victory with Roma seated on the spoils of war: the image tells of the cessation of war and its successful conclusion.

The placement of Roma on the north-east side of the ara Pacis also acts as a marker of the victorious return of Augustus into the city of Rome, travelling along the via Flaminia from the north. The topography of the city in relation to the triumphal return stressed the integral nature of Rome's success in foreign wars to the prosperity and peace at home. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Roma was not alone, but accompanied by another figure. A head of a young man, bound with a fillet, with the remains of the top of a cornucopia next to his head, has been identified as belonging to the Roma relief.³⁷ It has been suggested that the head represents Honos,

³⁴ Coin of M. Nonius Sufenas, 60/59 BC: *RRC* 241/1; the legend reads: *Sex. Noni(us) pr(aetor) l(udos) V(ictoriae) p(rimus) f(ecit)*; thus the connection between this image of Roma and victory are made explicit; coin of Caesar, 48 BC: *RRC* 449/4. A coin of Pansa from 49 has the added element of Roma placing her foot on a globe: Sydenham 159; Weinstock (1971) 93. Coin of P. Papirius Carbo, 62–59 BC: *BMC Pontus* 152. Eastern models for this depiction of Roma can be seen in coins from the third and second centuries from Asia Minor depicting Athena (Howgego (1995) pl. 56), and from Aetolia (*BMC Thessaly* 194): see Weinstock (1971) 96.

³⁵ Cagnat (1913) 681 for the inscription and find-spot: *genti Augustae / P. Perelii Hedulus Sac. Perp. / templum solo privato / primus pecunia sua fecit*. Cagnat (1913) 683 dates the inscription, based on its letter forms, to the beginning of the Empire; see also Poinssot (1929) 36, who attributes the altar, based on the inscription and the sculptural reliefs, to the beginning of the first century AD.

³⁶ Tunis, Bardo Museum, H: approx. 1.118 m: see Zanker (1988) 315. Koortbojian (2006) 202–3 interprets the Roma panel as being a representation of *felicitas*.

³⁷ Studniczka (1909) 939–41; Moretti (1948) 153; and Simon (1967) 23 assigned the head to the Aeneas panel, identifying the cornucopia as part of a tree, but during



Fig. 5.4 Relief sculpture of Roma seated on a heap of weapons, holding a winged Victory with a *clipeus virtutis* and facing a display of a globe, cornucopia, and caduceus, from the altar to the gens Augusta, dedicated by its priest P. Perelius Hedulus, Carthage. Musée National du Bardo. Inv. no. 2125.

Photo: H. Koppermann, D-DAI-ROM-63.388, © DAI-Rom.

possibly accompanied by another missing figure (to balance the three figures in the opposite ‘Tellus’ relief), that of Virtus.³⁸ Whilst Honos and Virtus were clearly associated with victory, as the temple near the Porta Capena demonstrates, this interpretation is problematic. It is highly unusual for Virtus and Roma to be depicted together, as they share similar attributes.³⁹ Kuttner has argued that the figure should in fact be identified as the Genius Populi Romani, who is often paired

the restoration of the altar in the 1980s it was discovered that the head did not fit: La Rocca (1983) 40, 49; Rossini (2006) 47.

³⁸ Studniczka (1909) 936–41 for the identification of Honos; Rossini (2006) 46–7.

³⁹ Rehak (2006) 113 wrongly identifies Virtus as male; Sears (2000) 42 also implies Virtus is male. Both interpretations must be based on later representations of Virtus as a male. However, in the Republican period and early Principate Virtus was depicted as an Amazon: see Bieber (1945) 30–1; Vermeule (1959) 29–30.

with Roma.⁴⁰ She draws a parallel between Roma and the Genius Populi Romani on the Augustus Boscoreale cup and the Roma panel of the ara Pacis, and further ties them to the presentation of the 'peoples of empire' as depicted on the cup. The iconography of the cups, particularly in the presentation of 'empire' is reminiscent of that found within the ara Pacis monument itself, and Kuttner has illustrated, by a comparison with 'official' images from coinage, relief, and sculpture, that the cups were copied from monumental state reliefs.⁴¹ Furthermore, the image of Roma on the Augustus Boscoreale cup, with her foot on the globe, the Genius with cornucopia, and Venus proffering Victory to Augustus, is reminiscent of the symbols depicted on the altar of Hedulus from Carthage.

Whilst the fragmentary nature of the Roma panel on the ara Pacis prevents us from confirming with certainty that the Roma panel from the altar of Hedulus at Carthage was a direct imitation of that at Rome, the overall message of the panel from Carthage strongly corresponds to the ideas of *pax augusta* on the altar at Rome.⁴² The altar of Hedulus is decorated with relief panels on all four sides: Roma, Aeneas' flight from Troy, Apollo seated before a tripod, and a sacrifice scene. All four panels are bordered by a stylized long-stem laurel.⁴³ Most interesting, though, is the relationship of the panels to each other. The movement in both the Aeneas panel and the sacrifice

⁴⁰ Kuttner (1995) 18–22. Earlier representations of the pairing of Roma and the Genius Populi Romani appear on the coinage of 100 BC, where the Genius crowns Roma (*RRC* 329/1), and the Genius was itself crowned by Victory on a coin of 74, probably a commentary of the war against Sertorius (*RRC* 397/1). Who the possible third figure is is a matter of speculation. One possibility might be the Genius Senatus, whose first attestation in sculptural relief is on the arch of Titus (Kleiner and Kleiner (1977) 260). The senate is clearly represented in the long processional friezes, though this neither confirms nor precludes the presence of the Genius Senatus alongside the Genius Populi Romani, and one might argue that the *populus Romanus* is also represented in the processional friezes, in the men, women, and children who make up the processional *supplicatio*. The Genius Populi Romani, Genius Senatus, and Roma all appear as statues in the *adventus* scene of the Cancellaria reliefs. Another possible figure might be Victory, who has already had a long association with Roma and the Genius Populi Romani, as well as the contemporary example of the Boscoreale cup (although as a statuette offered by Venus).

⁴¹ Kuttner (1995) *passim*, esp. 1–6, 17–44, 193–209. The cup will be discussed alongside the processional friezes of the ara Pacis later in this chapter, in the section 'Religion, Statecraft, and the Pax Augusta'.

⁴² Poinssot (1929) 17; Galinsky (1992) 228 on the fragmentary nature of the Roma panel in comparison with that from Carthage; see also Zanker (1988) 315.

⁴³ Poinssot (1929) 9–35 for a detailed analysis of all decorative aspects of the altar.

scene is directed towards the panel on their right: Roma.⁴⁴ In this sense the Roma panel has become the focal point of the altar's message. Here, Roma holds out a victory towards the symbols of prosperity (cornucopia), *pax* (caduceus), and *orbis terrarum* (globe), as if to indicate that Rome's victories have secured such ideals. The concepts of the cornucopia and the globe also are evident in the 'Tellus' relief, but what of the caduceus? Whilst I argued earlier against looking for a single, well-defined depiction of Pax (as a cult figure), it is clear that the panel embodies *pax augusta*, which celebrates the territorial aspects of victorious peace, alongside the concept of 'peace-bearing'. This concept is heightened by the visual relationship between this figure and that of Roma opposite. Both figures face inwards, to each other, and should be viewed as part of the greater whole.

The Roma panel on the altar of Hedulus echoes the claim Augustus made in his *Res Gestae*: *totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parva victoriis pax* (RG 13). The centrality of Roma on the altar of Hedulus suggests that the idea of victorious *pax* achieved by Rome was the embodiment of the power of the *gens Augusta*, surrounded by representations of the *gens*'s lineage, divine favour, and priestly devotion, in the eyes of its *sacerdos* Hedulus. The altar of Hedulus is a view of Rome and peace from outside the political centre. Furthermore, its location at site of the rebuilt Carthage serves as a testimony to the success of the Roman concept of empire over its (past) rivals for Mediterranean power.⁴⁵ The ara Pacis is a far more complex expression of the ideology of the Roman state and the peace established by Augustus. Even so, Zanker has suggested that the Roma relief on the altar of Hedulus may be viewed as a 'simplified version' of both panels on the east side of the ara Pacis, and understands the 'Tellus' panel to be a representation of Pax.⁴⁶ If the Roma panel from the altar of Hedulus is a shorthand form of these two reliefs from Rome, the 'Tellus' panel on the ara Pacis can be read as embodying the ideas of prosperity and peace over the *orbis terrarum*. The presentation of the central figure, as evidence of prosperity won, flanked by representations of the orders of the world (both the *orbis terrarum*

⁴⁴ Poinssot (1929) 10 describes the three panels as a triptych, with Roma at the centre. The Apollo relief is a separate tableau.

⁴⁵ See Purcell (1995) 138–9 for the potency of chronology as regards Caesar's refounding of both Carthage and Corinth in 46 BC.

⁴⁶ Zanker (1988) 315.

and *terra marique*), is a highly complex yet elegant expression of *pax terra marique parta*.⁴⁷ In the *ara Pacis* we may observe a culmination of *pax* as an articulation of Roman *imperium* in the Augustan period.

Rome's Past and the *Pax Deorum*

As with the Roma relief, the panel on the north-west side of the monument is very fragmentary. The remains show two male figures: that on the left side is agreed to show the bearded god Mars, helmeted, wearing a breastplate and carrying a spear. Another two fragments from the right of the panel depict part of the drapery and torso of a bare-chested male figure, with his arm apparently resting on a staff: this fragment is the largest, and its position is assured by the decoration on the back, which is part of the garland frieze. Other remains include tree branches with the feet of a bird on them.

The panel is usually read as Mars observing the shepherd Faustus' discovery of the she-wolf and the twins Romulus and Remus in the cave which became known as the Lupercal.⁴⁸ However, Berczelly has argued that the scene should instead be read as Mars' encounter with Rhea Silvia observed by Tiber or Somnus on the grounds that the stance and posture of Mars are normally found in depictions of the god's meeting with Rhea Silvia.⁴⁹ Such scenes in the Augustan period are confined to gemstones.⁵⁰ She further argues that the bird in the scene is not, as is usually suggested, a woodpecker—the bird of Mars—but an eagle, which she associates with the dreams of Rhea Silvia and Atia.⁵¹ Indeed, birds in Lupercal scenes are not necessarily

⁴⁷ The representation of *terra marique* is dealt with in a far more simplified manner on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, where Augustus, with billowing mantle (reminiscent of the *Aurae velificantes* figures on the 'Tellus' panel), receives from representations of land and sea their attributes (a cornucopia and a rudder): Smith (1987) 104–6.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Rossini (2006) 34–5.

⁴⁹ Berczelly (1985) 99–114 identifies the figure on the right as Tiber holding a reed stalk or rudder, or Somnus holding a horn. However, the shaft seems too narrow for a reed or rudder (these are also normally held with the upper part rising over the shoulder, which does not appear to be the case here). The presence of Somnus on a state monument of this period seems improbable. Although Faustus is often depicted with a curved staff, it seems likely that here a simple staff is represented.

⁵⁰ LIMC II.1 551, esp. nn. 405–6.

⁵¹ Berczelly (1985) 107–9, figs. 7–10. The *picus* (woodpecker) is mentioned by Ov. *Fast.* 3.37, 54 and Plut. *Rom.* 4.2 in connection to the she-wolf and the twins. See RRC

linked to Mars, as coins and gemstones from the late second and first centuries BC depict, where Faustulus is alone (RRC 335/1a–c) or in the presence of Roma (RRC 287).⁵² It is perhaps tempting to interpret, as many scholars have done, the scene as the discovery of the twins, particularly as Augustus himself claimed to have repaired the Lupercal.⁵³ The Lupercal is inherently concerned with the foundation of the Roman state and also Augustus' restoration of the site in his role as the founder of the state (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 7.2). However, what Berczelly's arguments show is the difficulty in reconstructing with certainty the missing focal point of the relief, which the central furl of the acanthus below emphasized.

The two suggested scenes (one of the rape of Rhea Silvia, the other of the discovery of the twins) are two different narratives concerning the foundation of the Roman state. In fact, in artistic representations both scenes comprise similar elements: a rock or cave, a tree, a spectator, and Mars. All that can be concluded with any certainty is the presence of Mars and another male, possibly of rustic or divine character. It is most likely that the presence of Mars is concerned with his relationship to the state: both in the location of the altar on the Field of Mars and in his role as the father of the Roman people. The importance of war to the Roman state and to the achievement of *pax* is articulated through the presence of Mars, as divine sanction of the state from its pre-foundation. The Mars panel demonstrates the intercession of the divine in the Roman state, which balances the scene of sacrifice in the opposite panel, demonstrating Rome's active relationship with the divine and the *pax deorum*.

The scene on the south-west side of the monument is usually read as Aeneas attended by two servants and another figure interpreted as either Ascanius or Achates. In the scene Aeneas sacrifices a sow to the Penates (who are seated in their temple in the background of the scene) on his arrival at the site of Lavinium, as told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Fig. 5.5).⁵⁴ However, Rehak argues

235/1c for a depiction of the she-wolf and twins beneath the ficus Ruminalis, and a bird that Crawford identifies as a woodpecker (there are also two other unidentified birds in the branches).

⁵² See also LIMC VI.1 293–6. ⁵³ RG 19.

⁵⁴ Dion. Hal. *Rom. Ant.* 1.55.4–57.1; see also Varro *Rust.* 2.4, *Ling.* 5.32.144. *Contra* Verg. *Aen.* 8.81–5, where Aeneas sacrifices to Juno.



Fig. 5.5 Fragmentary relief sculpture of Aeneas, the founder of Rome, sacrificing a sow to the Penates. Rome, Museo dell'Ara Pacis.

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that the scene cannot be the Lavinium sacrifice because the piglets are not present as they are on the much smaller Altar of the Lares.⁵⁵ That scene depicts the discovery of the sow in the presence of *Fatum* or a prophet who unfurls a scroll: it is the confirmation of the prosperity (as symbolized in the piglets) of the prophesized Rome.⁵⁶ Rehak also argues that the figure, bearded and mature, is contrasted with the usual late Republican and early imperial images of Aeneas. Yet these depictions are concerned with the flight from Troy, and the figure of Aeneas on the Belvedere altar is also bearded and has a mature physique.⁵⁷ What Rehak fails to note is that the Belvedere altar depicts a different aspect of the Lavinium sow story. The scene on the Altar of the Lares is not one of sacrifice, for Aeneas is not *capite velato* as he is on the ara Pacis. The tale of the sacrifice as related by Dionysius consists of two parts. First is the recollection of the prophecy that once they had eaten their tables, the Trojans would be led by a four-footed animal to the site of their city. So Aeneas brings out the Penates from the ships

⁵⁵ The Belvedere altar: Rome, Vatican, inv. 1115.

⁵⁶ Rehak (2001) 193–4.

⁵⁷ Rehak (2001) 191, 196–9; see Zanker (1988) 203–4.

and prepares a sacrifice for them (*Ant. Rom.* 1.55.5). Dionysius then tells us:

ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὰς εὐχὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἡ μέλλουσα καθιεροῦσθαι ὅς ἐγκύμων
οὔσα καὶ οὐ πρόσω τόκου καταρχομένων ἀντὶς τῶν θυτῆρων διασεισαμένη
καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα τοὺς κατέχοντας ἄνω θαλάττης ἔθει.

(Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.56.1)

While these were offering up their prayers, the sow which was the destined victim, being big with young and near her time, shook herself free as the priests were performing the initial rites, and fleeing from those who held her, ran back into the country.

The Trojans give chase, and finally the sow stops and bears her young. It is then that the sacrifice actually takes place:

Αἰνείας δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑὸς τὸν τόκον ἅμα τῇ γειναμένη τοῖς πατράοις ἀγίζει
θεοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τῷδ', . . . τοῖς δὲ Τρωσὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι κελεύσας
ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἰδρύεται τὰ ἔδη τῶν θεῶν ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ αὐτίκα περὶ
τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ πολίσματος ἀπάσῃ προθυμία.

(Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.57.1)

Aeneas sacrificed the young of the sow together with the mother to the ancestral gods in this place . . . and having ordered the Trojans to move the camp to the hill, he set images of the gods in the best part and straightway began the preparation of the town with the greatest eagerness.

The relief on the ara Pacis is not a scene of discovery, but one of sacrifice, and indeed from the readings of Dionysius it could plausibly depict either or both sacrificial preparations: the damage on the stone prevents definite confirmation that the sow is pregnant; yet the temple on the hill accords with Dionysius' second passage.⁵⁸ This comparison between the text and the relief illustrates similar components of the story. It is also notable that Ovid links the ara Pacis to Aeneas (*Ov. Fast.* 1.717: *horreat Aeneadas et primus et ultimus orbis*). The relief depicts the sacrifice for the security and subsequent world rule of the *Aeneadae*.

The panel may also allude to sacrifices for peace. The contemporary relevance of this type of sacrifice is attested in the *Ludi Saeculares*,

⁵⁸ Rehak (2001) 195–6 for a discussion of the literary evidence of the Lavinium sow and his arguments against identifying the ara Pacis relief with the story in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

where Augustus sacrificed a pregnant sow to Terra Mater: *Terra Mater, uti tibi in ill[is scriptum est] / uti tibi sua plena propri[a sacrum fiat . . . c]etera [uti supra]* (CIL VI 32323 ll 134–7: ‘Mother Earth, so for you it is written in regard to these things that a pregnant sow be sacrificed to you, as is appropriate . . . the rest as above’). The sacrifice of the sow embodied peace and prosperity, not just for the foundation of Rome by Aeneas, but to welcome in the new age established by *pax augusta*.⁵⁹ As Aeneas ensured the establishment of Rome through sacrifice, so too did Augustus ensure the peace and stability of the Roman state through sacrifice. Indeed, the figure of Augustus in the processional frieze mirrors the stance of Aeneas.⁶⁰

Just as the Roma and ‘Tellus’ panels worked together to present a victorious image of *pax augusta*, so too do the two panels on the west side, illustrating the inherent qualities of Rome’s foundation that are articulated throughout the monument: *pax* as security and prosperity, and *pax* as the victory of the Roman state (foretold by the presence of Mars) are two sides of the same coin. Momigliano has pointed out that the four short panels of the altar ‘delimit the space for the procession of Romans’.⁶¹ The procession moves from east to west: from the presentation of *pax augusta* in a symbolic or allegorical sense to the attestation of such qualities as inherent within the Rome state. The procession itself serves to link the universal concepts of the west side to the exempla of the past, whilst celebrating the present state of victorious peace.

Religion, Statecraft, and the Pax Augusta

Scholars have often wanted to interpret the procession as either the *consecratio* in 13 or the *dedicatio* in 9, since these two dates are celebrated in various *Fasti* of the Julio-Claudian period.⁶² However, Billows has argued that the procession should be seen as an ‘idealized version of history’ rather than necessarily depicting a specific historic

⁵⁹ Hall (1986); Zanker (1988) 167–72.

⁶⁰ Rossini (2006) 54 suggests that Augustus’ arm is outstretched in salute, but the adduction of his thumb confirms he is holding something. My thanks to Jane Masségliia for discussing this with me.

⁶¹ Momigliano (1942a) 228.

⁶² Momigliano (1942a) 231 discusses these two positions in the scholarship.

event, and sees the procession as depicting an idealized *supplicatio*.⁶³ The *supplicatio* was given either in thanksgiving to the gods for a victory (Livy 27.51.9) or to seek *pax* from them (Livy 3.7.7). The procession included women and children, and laurels were carried by participants (Livy 40.37.3). Certainly, this interpretation emphasizes the action of the senate who decreed *supplicationes* to Augustus on the successful conclusion of his campaigns.⁶⁴ This interpretation of the procession allows us to understand the commemoration of both the initial celebration of Augustus' return and a continued celebration each time the frieze was viewed. Just as Augustus' act of sacrifice echoes, both visually and symbolically, the sacrifice made by Aeneas, so too does the annual sacrifice re-enact the celebration of Augustus' own achievements, embedding his successes within state rituals. He is thus linked to the heroic past and is himself elevated as a standard of state religion and statecraft. The nature of the relief is emphasized in many of the figures of the procession who are idealized depictions. As Zanker states: '[the] figure embodies the office, not the man who happened to hold it at the time'.⁶⁵ The processional frieze, as part of a monument set up by the senate, offers an idealized view of the state in a religious capacity and Augustus' role within it.

The prevalent view takes the frieze to be a celebration of the imperial *domus* and scholars have tried to interpret the frieze in terms of family groups and dynastic succession, based on the identifications of the participants.⁶⁶ These interpretations rely on tentative identifications: only Augustus and Agrippa can be securely identified through their portraiture. This serves to heighten their prominence (notably both *capite velato*) within the procession amongst so many idealized faces. Compositionally too, they are prominent, with the main focus on Augustus as other figures turn towards him. Agrippa, who is prominent owing to his posture and height, appears to

⁶³ Billows (1993) 91; Zanker (1988) 121 notes the timelessness of the frieze in its idealized realization.

⁶⁴ RG 4 and 12. Cic. *Phil.* 2.13 states that he was awarded a *supplicatio*, *rebus iis gestis* for his defeat of the Catilinarian conspiracy.

⁶⁵ Zanker (1988) 121.

⁶⁶ Moretti (1948); Ryberg (1949); Simon (1967); Kleiner (1978); Torelli (1982); Holloway (1984); Rose (1990); Rossini (2006) 48 notes how tentative the historical identifications are. Paul Rehak in a conference paper entitled 'Women and Children on the *Ara Pacis Augustae*' delivered at the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, 2004 argues against the family groupings supposed by Kleiner (1978).

emphasize the end of the magistrates and priests and the start of the more familial aspect of the procession. If one observes, however, the relationship of the central acanthus scroll to the processional frieze on the south side, one can see that another focal point is the group of *flamines* between Augustus and Agrippa; on the north side it is the *camilli*.⁶⁷ The focus is on the religious offices of the state, and indeed the prominence of Augustus and Agrippa (who are equidistant from the centre, both standing over an open flower from the main acanthus scroll) must be understood within this context. As with the short panels, the processional frieze is subject to the acanthus scroll, which unifies the messages of the upper register and ties the ideology of the Roman state to the concepts of abundance and fruitfulness.⁶⁸

The emphasis on the senatorial order within the processional friezes is not to deny that the *gens Augusta* is depicted. The prominent female behind Agrippa (S-32) is evidently an important figure, not just from her position in the procession, but also owing to the parallel drawn between her and the 'Tellus' figure, with whom shares the idealized features and is crowned and veiled (Fig. 5.6a). She has been identified as either Livia or Julia.⁶⁹ I believe an identification of Livia is far more plausible: the senate dedicated the monument on 30 January, which was Livia's birthday. The senate could thus be seen to depict the *princeps's* wife as the embodiment of the womanly virtues of *pax augusta* displayed in the 'Tellus' relief. Augustus' household is depicted as important to the realization of *pax augusta*.

The desire to see a purely dynastic procession has led to the identification of S-30, who stands behind the figure of Agrippa, and N-34 as Gaius and Lucius Caesar respectively (Fig. 5.6).⁷⁰ The clothing of the

⁶⁷ See Caneva (2010) 187–9 for the central arrangements of the figural panels, as articulated by the acanthus of the floral frieze, and 206–10 for the positioning of Augustus and Agrippa.

⁶⁸ Castriota (1995) 3–12.

⁶⁹ Bartman (1998) 87–8; Rossini (2006) 54 and 66 gives arguments for both, although she comes down on the side of Julia; on Livia and her role, see Flory (1998), Flory (1995), Flory (1993).

⁷⁰ Rose (1990) 463–4 argues that N-37 in fact represents Gaius Caesar, based on Gaius' portraiture type. Kleiner and Buxton (2008) 85 n. 121 see N-37 as representing a Mauretanian prince wearing a Hellenistic royal cloak and argue that the Julian style of portraiture was adopted by the Mauretanian royal house. However, Kuttner (1995) 102 points out the contrast between the 'delicate face of the young *camillus* Gaius Caesar' and the pudgy features of S-30, the point being that S-30 and N-34 are distinctively non-Roman in appearance, whilst N-37 appears Julio-Claudian.

(a)



(b)



Fig. 5.6 (a) South processional frieze depicting Agrippa (as priest and sacrificant), behind whom stand, holding onto his toga, a young boy (S-30) with long hair, dressed in long trousers and tunic and wearing a torque. Behind them both stands the first female figure of the procession (S-32), most likely identified as Livia.

Rome, Museo dell'Ara Pacis. © Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini.

(b) North processional frieze depicting senators, one of whom is leading a very small child by the hand (N-34). The child has long hair and is dressed only in a short tunic.

Rome, Museo dell'Ara Pacis. © Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini.

two boys is traditionally explained as Trojan dress, for the *Ludi Troiani*; however, another way of interpreting the boys' dress is that they are non-Roman. This is a far more straightforward explanation of their clothing, and indeed Rose has pointed out that a depiction of both boys with no shoes and Lucius with 'uncovered buttocks' would be unprecedented.⁷¹ S-30 and N-34 are certainly prominent as the first children

⁷¹ Rose (1990) 459; see also Kuttner (1995) 101–5 for an identification of N-34 as a Gallic *pignus* and S-30 as an 'Oriental'; Schneider (2007) 76–8 has argued that both

and, moreover, as the first individuals who are not state officials. It is possible that in their non-Roman appearance they represent a form of *pignora* offered to Augustus and Rome as evidence of *pax*.⁷² N-34 is strikingly similar to the depictions of *pignora* on the Augustus Boscoreale cup, which we should read not as a blatant act of submission, but rather an expression of an imperial concept of *pax*.⁷³ The image of the *pignus* given up to Augustus also appears on coins minted at Lugdunum in 8/7 BC (*RIC* I² Augustus 200, 201a–b).

The altar offers a conceptualization of peace as a discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism, celebrating the conquest of the *orbis terrarum* whilst at the same time promoting the stability of the state through an affirmation of the religious and political offices of the senatorial order.

The concept of the imperial nature of *pax* is highlighted by the relationship of the ara Pacis to the obelisk set up in 10/9 BC as a gnomon of a solar meridian in the Campus.⁷⁴ The red granite obelisk was originally erected by Psammeticus II (594–589 BC) at Heliopolis. The base of the monolith is inscribed on two opposite sides with the following inscription:

Imp. Caesar divi. fil. / Augustus / Pontifex Maximus / Imp. XII Cos. XI Trib. Pot. XIV / Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta / Soli donum dedit. (CIL VI 702)

Imperator Caesar, son of a god, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Imperator for the 12th time, Consul for the 11th time, Tribunician power for the 14th time, gave this as a gift to Sol, with Egypt subjected to the power of the Roman people.

This sentiment was later echoed in the heading of Augustus' *Res Gestae: orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit*. The obelisk is aligned with the via Flaminia, and there is a clear spatial relationship between the monument and the ara Pacis, which is further emphasized by the proximity in date of the two monuments' dedications.⁷⁵ In one sense the solar meridian serves as another example or extension of *pax*

interpretations (Gaius and Lucius, or barbarian children) can stand, and that the children's clothing 'refers to the Orient as a feature of Rome's cultural identity'.

⁷² RG 4.3, 32.2; Josephus AJ 16.6.6; Dio Cass. 54.28.1; Ferris (2000) 27.

⁷³ Kuttner (1995) 94–123, esp. 95, 100–7. ⁷⁴ Heslin (2007) 2–12.

⁷⁵ Heslin (2007) 12–16; Rehak (2006) 89 suggests that the construction of the obelisk monument must have begun in 13/12 BC based on its evident spatial relationship with the ara Pacis.

augusta, reminding the viewer of the ways in which *pax* for the empire had been achieved.

Heslin sees the obelisk's inscription as an implicit reference to the triumvirate—Augustus (*Imp. Caesar*), Lepidus (*Pontifex Maximus*), and Antony (*Aegypto redacta*)—and the triangle of the altar, obelisk, and mausoleum as part of that display to impress upon the viewer the move of Augustus from the war of the triumviral period to the Principate and peace. However, it is misleading to see the complex of the altar and obelisk as referring to 'the blood-stained Octavian who was transformed into Augustus, bringer of peace'.⁷⁶ It is *Imperator Caesar Augustus* who dedicates the obelisk to bring to the fore the fundamentally victorious nature of *pax augusta* as a commemoration of empire. It is true that the inscription refers to the victory over Egypt in 30 BC; yet that victory must be understood within the complex of monuments on the Campus. Indeed, the end of the war against Antony and Cleopatra, which was synonymous with the capture of Egypt as well as the battle of Actium, was celebrated with the closing of the gates of Janus as a display of *pax terra marique parta* (Livy 1.19.3). Augustus reminds the viewer of his initial role in establishing peace as a display of Roman victory in his conquest of Egypt at the end of the civil wars. Thus, Augustus' dedication serves as a reminder of his past victories, and also his control over the empire.

Furthermore, it is worth emphasizing that in 8 BC Augustus made corrections to the Julian calendar.⁷⁷ Within the inscription of the obelisk he emphasizes his role as Pontifex Maximus (the second line is devoted to this one title), a position he assumed in 12 BC, which had made him responsible for the calendar. The restoration of the correct measurement of time, which Augustus undertook in 8, may have been foreshadowed in the erection of the solar meridian. The obelisk is employed as a marker of the establishment of correct order, linked to the ideology of the ara Pacis. The two monuments offer different perspectives on *pax* as an accomplishment of victory. The ara Pacis presents the stability of the state and the renewed prosperity, as illustrated by the exempla of Rome's past, and continually acted out through the viewing of the processional frieze. The obelisk presents

⁷⁶ Heslin (2007) 16.

⁷⁷ Macr. Sat. 1.14.14; Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 244–5.

the establishment of Roman *imperium* both over a territorial area and as control of time as a victory of *pax augusta*.⁷⁸

DEDICATIONS TO AUGUSTAN PEACE OUTSIDE ROME

Beyond the monumental display to Pax Augusta as part of the complex in the northern Campus Martius, we hear of Augustus setting up a statue of Pax, along with ones to Salus Publica and Concordia out of funds contributed by the senate and people for statues of the *princeps* in 10 BC (Dio Cass. 54.35.2; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.881–2). Whilst not specifically designated as ‘Augustan’ (*augusta*), the dedications of these interlinking virtues at a time when the ara Pacis Augustae itself was being constructed illustrate how such concepts were being disseminated across the city as central to the language of power at Rome.⁷⁹ Such displays were also found outside the political centre, albeit in a modified and simplified form. The examples discussed in this section demonstrate not only the relevance of the message of the ara Pacis Augustae to the Augustan vision of empire, but also the awareness of communities subject to Rome of the relevance of such a rhetoric for a discourse of imperialism. The examples from Carthage—the altar of Hedulus and the copy of the ‘Tellus’ panel—have already been discussed in relation to the visual programme at Rome. Other examples from Italy, Gaul, and Asia Minor make explicit reference to the *pax augusta* in their inscriptions, thereby affirming the diffusing of the concept within the empire.

Altars to Pax Augusta are found at Praeneste, and at Narbo in southern Gaul. At Praeneste, the colony erected an altar (1.03 m in height) decorated on all four sides with garlands and bucrania and inscribed on the front and back sides: *paci august(ae) / sacrum /*

⁷⁸ Haselberger (2007) 32, 168–76 stresses that the senatorial monument to Augustus was enhanced through its inclusion in what had become a monumental complex created by Augustus.

⁷⁹ For the statues, see Palombi (1996b); see also Rich (1990) 215 on Dio 54.35.2. Lott (2004) 73–5 sees these dedications, along with the shrine to Concordia set up by Livia in 7 BC, and the beginning of Tiberius’ restoration of the temple of Concordia, as part of the complex relationship between monumental projects and the development of the *vici* from 7 onwards.

decuriones populusque / coloniae prae nestin(ae).⁸⁰ The altar at Narbo was dedicated by T. Domitius Romulus in fulfilment of a vow: *paci aug(ustae) / T. Domitius Romulus / votum posuit quod / fidecommis-sum Phoebum liberu(m) / recepit* inscribed within an oak wreath, whilst laurel branches decorate the sides and an oak garland and bucrania the back of the altar.⁸¹ It seems plausible that both altars were a response to the altar erected at Rome, and that they offer different perspectives on the concept.⁸² Weinstock has argued that it is only in their inscription that either altar is specific to *pax*, and not in their decoration.⁸³ Certainly, the altar at Praeneste is a simple display popular in religious contexts during the Augustan period and was paired with a virtually identical altar which was dedicated to *Securitas Augusta*.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the inscriptions on these two Praeneste altars appear to be fitted around the decoration and the abbreviations are not consistent: most notably the 'T' of *paci august(ae)* is taller than the other letters on one side, and shorter than the others on the opposite side, because of the horn of the bucranium, whilst the last two lines of all four inscriptions are fitted around the garland ribbons.

⁸⁰ CIL XIV 2898: the other side reads: *paci august(ae) / sacrum / decurio(nes) populusque / coloniae prae nest(in)ae*; Agnoli (2002) 241–3.

⁸¹ CIL XII 4335. CIL states that *Paci Aug.* was inscribed on a shield, though from the image in Espérandieu (1907) 362 n. 558 it appears just to be a simple *corona civica*.

⁸² Gayraud (1981) 356 dates the Narbo altar to 26/25 BC on the grounds that the iconography relates to the honours Augustus received from the senate in 27 (RG 34.2), comparing it to the copy of the *clipeus virtutis* set up at Arles in 26. However, he notes that the altar is a private dedication and not an official cult. Gayraud reads the inscription as *Paci Aug(usti)*, though CIL and *Revue Épigraphique* take it to read *Paci Aug(ustae)*. Fears (1981b) 887–9 highlights the fact that only *Augusta* is attested with certainty under Augustus, whilst *Augusti* is first attested in the coinage of Claudius. He goes on to emphasize that, owing to the high level of abbreviations (*Aug.* and *August.*) in the epigraphic and numismatic fields, it is extremely difficult for us to determine whether the adjective or genitive is intended, and 'whether the average Roman or even the markers of imperial propaganda saw a distinction between the adjectival and the genitival forms'. See also Fishwick (1978) 377–8; Hornum (1993) 37–40. The first securely dated example of *Pax Augusta* is the consecration of the altar at Rome by the senate, dedicated in 9 (RG 13, *Fasti Praenestini*); notably the *Fasti Amiternini* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.188–9), and *Caeretani* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.65) give the abbreviated form *ara Pacis. Aug.*, and the *Fasti Antiates* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2.208) gives [*ara P]acis August.*

⁸³ Weinstock (1960) 56.

⁸⁴ CIL XIV 2899: *securit(ati) aug(ustae) / sacrum/decurione(es) populusque / coloniae prae nestin(ae) // securitat(i) aug(ustae) / sacrum / decurion(es) populusque/ coloniae prae nestin(ae)*; Agnoli (2002) 235–41. Compare the decoration of both altars to the architrave reliefs from the temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome and the garlands on altars from Emerita and Carteia: Ramage (1998) 471–2.

For the colony of Praeneste the dedication of an altar to the Augustan quality of *pax* was a commemoration of the security and prosperity established, as the twin altar to *securitas* confirms. The visual programme of the altars does express general ideas of sacrifice and abundance; yet it is the inscriptions which are distinctive to the message of imperial ideology.

At Narbo, the personal dedication of Titus Romulus demonstrates more select visual criteria to express an understanding of *pax augusta*. Phoebus, thought to be the son of Titus freed into his possession, does not have citizenship, whilst Titus is distinguished by the *tria nomina*.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the father's name is far more prominent than the son's. Titus demonstrates that he is 'buying into' a Roman display of empire: the combination of the laurels and the *corona civica* are reminiscent of the honours granted to Augustus by the senate, and also propagated on compital altars to the Lares Augusti throughout the city of Rome.⁸⁶ The altar at Narbo indicates an understanding of how victory and civil harmony constituted *pax augusta*. This altar offers us a glimpse of how *pax augusta* could be understood and used in the West, by a new Roman citizen, as accepting of the ideas of Roman imperialism in the wake of pacification of the area.

The concept of *pax augusta* also permeated into the East as an achievement of the Augustan regime. An inscription set up by the δῆμος of Caesarea Myrina, in Aeolis, Asia Minor, was dedicated to Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεός, υἱός θεοῦ, Σεβαστός ('Imperator Caesar Divus, son of a god, Augustus') on account of Εἰρήνη Σεβαστή (IGR 4.1173). Given Augustus' titulature as 'Imperator Caesar Augustus' it is most likely that this was set up during his lifetime, and indeed the designation of him as a θεός is certainly in keeping with engagement with the *princeps* in Asia Minor during this period.⁸⁷ The

⁸⁵ CIL XII 4335 Mommsen: 'Phoebum crediderim Romuli filium naturalem fuisse eumque a domino patri ita legatum esse, ut eum per fideicommissum manumitti iuberet itque patrem eum patroni iure quodammodo recepissee'; Allmer (1881) 236 for the meaning of *liberum*.

⁸⁶ RG 34.2; see Hano (1986) for the altars to the Lares Augusti; also Cooley (2009) 262–4. See Revell (2009) xi on 'how "buying into" Roman culture on the part of . . . provincial communities became one of the ways in which the Roman empire was maintained'.

⁸⁷ Price (1986) 54–9, 75–7 on the title of θεός for the living emperor; see also Klaffenbach (1949) 223 n. 18. On the issues of contemporary titles of θεός and *deus* for Augustus, see Fishwick (1978); Whitehorne (1992). That Myrina adopted or was bestowed with the additional name of 'Caesarea' indicates its links with the imperial

reason given for the dedication is surely a reflection of the impact of the *pax augusta*, perceived and taken up as a core facet of Augustan imperial ideology by provincial communities as a means of celebrating the divine qualities of the *princeps*.

This small set of dedications offers modified viewpoints of the concept of *pax augusta* within the empire. Whilst the visual programmes at Carthage appear to draw on the iconography of the ara Pacis Augustae (or, in the very least, the same visual units from which the ara Pacis derived part of its programme), commemorations in Italy, Gaul, and Asia Minor were more concerned with specifying the concept of *pax augusta* explicitly, within a more generic visual display, albeit one that clearly drew on an accepted programme associated with Augustus, as the altar from Narbo suggests. These dedications were erected by communities, as in the case of Praeneste and Caesarea Myrina, by individuals in the public sphere, as in the case of the altar dedicated to the *gens Augusta* by Hedulus as a priest of the cult, and even by private individuals, such as the Roman citizen Titus Domitius Romulus, and illustrate the spectrum of social groups engaging with the concept. These examples demonstrate the ways in which the celebration of peace had become clearly associated with the person of Augustus, and that the concept of *pax* was now viewed as a truly imperial quality.⁸⁸

household; Plin. HN 5.121 notes that Myrina calls itself (*se vocat*) 'Sebastopolis'; Chapot (1904) 102.

⁸⁸ Lopez (2002) 105–10. In a similar way, the meaning of *imperium* during the late Augustan period is focused on an individual through the concentration of power in the hands of the *princeps*: see Richardson (2008) 117–45, 185–6.

Conclusion

From Pax Augusta to Pax Romana

τῶν δὲ δυοῖν χρυ[σῶ]ν ἀνδριάτων || ὁ μὲν Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς
γενό[με]νος, ὥσπερ ὑπέθετο | καὶ προσελεϊπάρη[σ]εν ὁ ἐμοὶ τιμ[ι]ώτατος
Βάρβιλλος ἀρνουμένου | μου διὰ τὸ φορτικότε[ρο]ς δ[οκ]εῖ[ν], ἐπεὶ
Ῥώμης ἀνατεθήσεται. (P. Lond. 1912, Col. II, ll. 34–7)

Of the two golden statues, the one made to represent the Pax Augusta Claudiana, as my most honoured Balbillus suggested and entreated when I wished to refuse, for fear of being thought too offensive, shall be erected at Rome.¹

In a letter to the city of Alexandria, written in AD 41, addressing the honours offered to Claudius and the requests put to him concerning status and internal conflicts between different socio-religious groups, reference is made to a gold statue of Pax Augusta Claudiana to be erected at Rome. Setting aside the issues of why Claudius saw Rome, rather than Alexandria, as the appropriate location for this dedication, two things are of immediate note in relation to this study.² Firstly, the impetus for the cult statue, initiated by the provincial community (directed, it would seem, by Tiberius Claudius Balbillus), offers us an insight into how imperial ideals were perceived by such communities as means through which to communicate with the *princeps*. In the context of their embassy and the social tensions in the city, it is possible to understand the offer of a statue to Pax as an

¹ Hunt and Edgar (1956).

² On the issue of Alexandria as the proposed site of the statue see Wilcken (1924) 308; Rostovtzeff (1926); Volkmann (1928) 306 n. 3; Hornum (1993) 16.

appeal to Claudius, as mediator and supreme power, to bring the stability to the city by means of his imperial guidance. Secondly, the statue is intended as that of Pax Augusta, illustrating the currency that such a concept continued to have after Augustus, and furthermore that the term had come to mean an 'imperial' peace as opposed to that specifically or solely tied to Augustus.³ The Alexandrian statue is, however, unusual in that this imperial peace is orientated quite specifically around the person of Claudius. Indeed, the Greek text serves to stress that this incarnation of Pax Augusta is Claudian: *Κλαυδιανῆς Εἰρήνης Σεβαστῆς*.⁴

The Alexandrian dedication to Pax Augusta Claudiana is perhaps unusual in its specific associations intended to intimately tie imperial peace to Claudius. Nevertheless, it should be viewed within the wider context and display of *pax augusta* perpetuated as a vehicle of imperial ideology. For the majority of his reign, Claudius minted aurei and denarii at Rome celebrating Pax Augusta (*PACI AVGVSTAE*), where Pax appears as a winged figure, holding a caduceus down towards a snake and, in the characteristic gesture of Nemesis, plucking at the top of her dress (Fig. C.1).⁵ This is the only numismatic depiction of

³ Claudius celebrated a number of qualities as *AVGVSTA* on his coinage: Pax (see n. 5), Ceres (*RIC* I² Claudius 4, 110), Libertas (*RIC* I² Claudius 97, 113), Spes (*RIC* I² Claudius 99, 115), although he also uses *AVGVSTI* of Constantia (*RIC* I² Claudius 2, 13–14, 31–2, 42–3, 55–6, 65–6, 95, 111) and Victoria (*RIC* I² Claudius 17–18). Tiberius used *AVGVSTA* only of Salus on his coinage (*RIC* I² Tiberius 47).

⁴ Another celebration of Pax Augusta/Σεβαστῇ Εἰρήνῃ under Claudius was set up by an imperial priest at Amatrix, Turkey: *ILS* 5883.

⁵ *RIC* I² Claudius 9–10 (AD 41–2), 21–2 (AD 43–4), 27–8 (AD 44–5), 38–9 (AD 46–7), 46–7 (AD 49–50), 51–2 (AD 50–1), 61–2 (AD 51–2). Hornum (1993) 16–17. Whilst Hornum and *RIC* I² and II interpret the gesture as that associated with Nemesis; cf. Callim. *Fragment* 687: 'Goddess [Nemesis], for whom the women spit on their bosoms', Grant (1949) 236–9 and Fears (1981b) 894 interpret the figure as an amalgam of Victory (wings), Pudicitia (gesture with robe), and Salus (snake). The image offers a nexus of characteristics (not unlike the female figure of 'Tellus' on the ara Pacis; see Chapter 5, in the section 'The Meaning(s) of the Ara Pacis Augustae'), allowing Pax Augusta to encompass victory and the security of the state, alongside the significance of Nemesis: see Hornum (1993) 15–42 for the function and meaning of Nemesis within the Roman state. For Claudius' use of the Augustan heritage, see Fears (1981b) 893–5. There is only one instance, from an unknown provincial mint, of the recognition of Pax Augusta on the coinage of Tiberius, where an altar with two doors is accompanied by the legend *PACE AVG(usti) PERP(eptua)*: RPC 5451; see Toynbee (1961) 154; Sutherland (1953), who compares the coin to an Augustan issue found in the Ashmolean's collection, depicting a hexastyle temple and altar with the legend *PACI PERP(etuae)* and draws a parallel with Ov. *Fast.* 4.407–8: *pace Ceres laeta est; et vos orate, coloni, / perpetuam pacem pacificumque ducem*, as a potential celebration of



Fig. C.1 Coin of Claudius minted at Rome in AD 41/42, depicting the laureate head of Claudius on the obverse, and Pax-Nemesis lifting the upper fold of her dress and holding a caduceus downwards towards a serpent. The accompanying legend identifies her as Pax Augusta (RIC I² Claudius 9).

© Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Pax Augusta under Claudius. The iconography of this coin was continued under later emperors, appearing on the coinage of Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, although the accompanying legends may offer a variety of nuanced meanings. Vespasian's *PACI AVGVSTI* Nemesis coins were only minted at Lyons (AD 71/72), although he minted a wide range of coins across the empire commemorating Pax Augusta/Augusti in a number of different ways.⁶ Under Trajan the figure

Tiberius' accession as the new conservator of peace; see also Vell. Pat. 2.126.3 celebrating the diffusion of the *pax augusta* through the world at the time of Tiberius' accession. The relative absence of *pax augusta* in the rhetoric of Tiberius and Gaius may possibly be because there was felt to be no need to stress this achievement during these years. Tiberius' preference seems to have been to articulate the central importance of *concordia*: Lobur (2008) 90–3, 102–11, 198–207; Fears (1981b) 892–3; see also Ov. *Fast.* 1.637–50; Green (2004b) 291–9; Pasco-Pranger (2006) 195–8.

⁶ On the two variant forms *augusta* (adjectival) and *Augusti* (genitival), see Fears (1981b) 886–9, esp. n. 284; also Stevenson (2010) 189: Pax Augusta as 'Augustan/imperial Peace' vs Pax Augusti as 'The Emperor's Peace'. The genitival form was first introduced under Claudius in reference to *his* Constantia and Victoria, whilst the adjectival form was used for other qualities (Pax, Libertas, and Spes). Pax Augusti first appears on the coinage during the civil wars of 68/69: RIC I² Galba 496–8; Vitellius 117–18, 138–40, 146–9, 157, 164, 172. The use of the genitival form during these years, and continuing into Vespasian's reign, may serve to highlight the individual promises and achievements of the various imperial candidates, as opposed to a generic imperial peace, although both forms appear on Galba's coinage at Rome with little or no distinction in her depiction (Vitellius does appear to only use Pax Augusti). Vespasian appears to favour Pax Augusti at Rome; there are instances of Pax Augusta, as well as the abbreviated form *PAX AVG.* both at Rome and Lyons, although Pax

makes an appearance on a coin depicting Divus Iulius on the obverse. Although there is no identifying legend, the image is an exact copy of the Claudian and Vespasianic type. The image changed somewhat under Hadrian, with the removal of the snake and the replacement of the caduceus with a branch, this time adding the legend *VICTORIA AVG(usti)*.⁷ This particular incarnation served to combine ideas of imperial peace, security, and victory under the guise of the exacting force of Nemesis, exemplifying Rome's ability make the arrogant submit and bring stability to the world (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.851–3). It is notable that in the case of Claudius and Vespasian, Pax Augusta was not only a central tenet to their imperial ideology, appearing consistently on the coinage at Rome (and in Vespasian's case also at Lyons, Ephesus, and Antioch) but was a crucial part of their message of acceptance and stability on their accessions, after the crises that preceded their reigns⁸—and also one of the many ways in which they

Augusta is the sole form used at the Ephesus mint. See Stevenson (2010) for an analysis of personifications, including Pax (189–90) on Vespasianic coinage.

⁷ Vespasian: *RIC* II² Vespasian 1130, 1180; Trajan: *RIC* II Trajan 815–16; Hadrian: *RIC* II Hadrian 282 (with legend *VICTORIA AVG*; see Hornum (1993) 39–40 on the use of Nemesis for Victoria Augusta), 504–6, 77, 828. Aemilian (AD 253) also used Nemesis to depict Victoria Augusta: *RIC* IV Aemilian 25.

⁸ Sutherland (1984) 117–18; Carradice and Buttrey (2007) 24–9, 33–4, 36, 43. It is striking that Vespasian's series from Lyons in 71/72 of both the Nemesis–Pax type and the wreath with *SPQR P. P. OB C. S.* had not appeared on the coinage since Claudius, no doubt implying a return to the stability of the pre-Neronian period. Also worthy of note is that Vespasian's peace coinage outside of Rome, at Lyons, Ephesus, and Antioch, has a strong message of victory over the world (*RIC* II² Vespasian 1550: *PAX AVGVSTI*, depicts Vespasian, naked with a spear, receiving a kneeling Tyche), whilst his Rome coinage emphasizes the branch of peace, the caduceus, and the cornucopia (some early issues of AD 70–2 do depict Pax setting fire to arms: *RIC* II² Vespasian 95, 179–80, 240, 276, 380). The persistence of an imperial peace is clear from the depictions of *PAX AVG(usta/usti)* on the coinage from Claudius onwards until the end of the third century, when it was all but replaced by *PAX AETERNA AVG*. Nero's coinage does not specifically refer to *PAX AVG.*, but clearly references Augustan ideology, with the depiction of both the gates of Janus (*PACE P. R. TERRA MARIQVE PARTA IANVM CLVSIT*: *RIC* I² Nero 263–71, 283, 288, 300–5, 323–38, 353–5, 421, 448–9, 468–72, 537–9, 583–5; *PACE P. R. VBIQVE PARTA IANVM CLVSIT*: *RIC* I² Nero 289–91, 306–11, 339–42, 349–50, 362, 366–7) and the ara Pacis (*ARA PACIS*: *RIC* I² Nero 418, 456–61, 526–31). The civil war coinage of AD 68–9 from Spain stresses *PAX P(opuli) R(omani)*: *RIC* I² Civil Wars 4–6, 9, 34, also 22, where Pax is associated with the Genius Populi Romani, and 31 with the *SPQR*; *RIC* I² Civil Wars 103, 113–15 is, however, linked to Augustus through the obverses. The emphasis on Pax Augusta/Augusti is picked up by Galba (in both Gaul and Rome) and thereafter continuously used as an imperial concept. Pax Aeterna Aug(usta/usti) first appears on the coinage of Marcus Aurelius (*RIC* III Marcus

could choose to align with the founding figure of the Principate, thus gaining extra legitimacy.

Following the civil wars of 68–9 (during which time the emphasis in the coinage on Pax Augusta/Augusti did not, however, abate), Vespasian's most dominant ideologies expressed in his coinage were that of Pax Augusti and Salus Augusta, from the period of 71–5.⁹ These years also saw the construction of his templum Pacis, begun in 71, the year of his and Titus' triumph over Judaea and the closing of the gates of Janus, and dedicated in 75: the monumentalization of the imperial concept of peace.¹⁰ That the focus of the building complex was a realization of *pax Romana* is suggested by the fact that there is no single agreed designation for the site in the ancient sources. Contemporary authors use the term *templum* and *τέμενος*, though later authors seem to focus more on the temple building as a site of the cult (*aedes*, *νεώς*, *ἱερόν*) than necessarily the whole complex space. Noreña has argued that 'what unified all these designations and identified the complex was the subjective genitive *Pacis* or *Εἰρήνης*'.¹¹ Dio Cassius even refers to the site as the *Εἰρηναῖον* (Dio Cass. 73.24.1), emphasizing the central importance of the cult of Peace as an identifying marker of the complex. Moreover, Pliny the Elder signifies the complex as comprising the *opera Pacis* (HN. 36.27), suggesting that the entire display was intended as emblematic of the concept of imperial peace.

It is hardly surprising that Pliny, who published his *Natural History* two years after the dedication of the complex of Peace, deemed it one of the most beautiful works the world had ever seen, alongside the

Aurelius 1163–5, AD 175–6). Whilst the legend PAX AVG. still appears in the late third century, PAX AETERNA AVG. had become the more used, with Constantine I only using the latter (see RIC VII).

⁹ Carradice and Buttrely (2007) 24–9.

¹⁰ Dio Cass. 65.15.1; Noreña (2003) sees the high frequency of Pax Augusti represented on Vespasian's coinage of 75 as directly linked to the dedication of the complex. For analyses of the complex, see Heatley (1976) 134–69; Darwall-Smith (1996) 55–68; Noreña (2003); Pollard (2009); Taraporewalla (2010); see also Coarelli (1999a); Claridge (2010) 170–4.

¹¹ Noreña (2003) 40 see also Heatley (1976) 136–8; Darwall-Smith (1996) 56. For the various ancient terms: *templum*: Plin. HN 34.84, 35.74, 35.107, 35.109, 36.50, 36.102; Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1; *τέμενος*: Josephus BJ 7.158; this term is also used by Dio Cass. 65.15.1 and Herodian 1.14.2; *aedes*: Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 9.7; *νεώς*: Procop. 8.21.11; *ἱερόν*: Paus. 6.9.3. *forum Pacis* is also used, but only from the fourth century: Procop. 8.21.11; Amm. Mar. 16.10.14; Polemius Silvius 545. The fragments of the Severan marble plan only preserves [pa]CIS.

basilica Pauli and the forum Augustum (HN 36.102). Given the purpose of his work to catalogue the world in its totality, and one that is dominated by the power of Rome, Pliny's various remarks concerning the templum Pacis and its contents should be understood as a part of this ordered world view.¹² Not only was the templum Pacis the culmination of the buildings of Rome, which are an expression of Rome's conquest of the world (HN 36.101–2), but it was itself a repository for the display of works of art and spoils representative of that world (HN 34.84; cf. Josephus BJ 7.159–62), as well as for knowledge, including as it did a library. The recontextualization of both famous artistic works and the gold ornaments from the temple of Jerusalem served to emphasize Vespasian's achievements, through military victories (his Jewish triumph), to bring the whole world under the sway of Roman peace.¹³ This assertion of peace as the restoration of Roman control over the world under the Flavian rule also extended to expressions of 'botanical imperialism' within the complex. Pollard has convincingly argued that the plant bedding must have been integral to the concept and structure of the complex, particularly to have been included in the Severan marble plan. Furthermore, she stresses the importation of non-indigenous plants as a well-established practice in the context of triumphal displays of conquest.¹⁴ In this respect, the use of such plants as an integral part of the forum space is comparable to other displays at Rome to signify the extent of her *imperium*, such as the animals imported from around the empire for the games, or the introduction of coloured marbles in public places, most notably in the forum Augustum, and indeed the templum Pacis too. Such displays served to stress the idea

¹² For Pliny's construction of a Roman totality through his catalogue of the world, see Carey (2003), esp. 17–40; Murphy (2004), esp. 129–64; Pollard (2009) 312–14.

¹³ See Taraporewalla (2010) 156–9 for the construction of memory through the objects displayed in the templum Pacis; also Heatley (1976) 157–60; Darwall-Smith (1996) 58–60.

¹⁴ Pollard (2009); see also Murphy (2004) 160–3. Whilst concerned with intellectual history rather than a physical display, Stevens (2016) has stressed the impact that the conquests of the Hellenistic world by Alexander the Great had on intellectual geography, through a comparison of the geographical awareness in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum*, which illustrate the developing ideas of taxonomy in a world of expanded and reconfigured political geography. It may be pertinent to view the triumphal botanical displays in Rome as another aspect of the taxonomy of the *oikoumenē* achieved through conquest and control; see also n. 12.

of Rome as a cosmopolis.¹⁵ Whilst no explicit reference is made by Pliny about the botanical arrangements in the templum Pacis, it is perhaps not difficult to draw parallels with his cataloguing of the transplantation of various plants and the ideas of Roman peace expressed in the displays of the space devoted to Pax:

Scythicam herbam a Maeotis paludibus et Euphorbeam e monte Atlante ultraque Herculis columnas ex ipso rerum naturae defectu, parte alia Britannicam ex oceani insulis extra terris positis, itemque Aethiopidem ab exusto sideribus axe, alias praeterea aliunde ultro citroque humanae saluti in toto orbe portari, inmensa Romanae pacis maiestate non homines modo diversis inter se terris gentibusque, verum etiam montes et excedentia in nubes iuga partusque eorum et herbas quoque invicem ostentante! (Plin. HN 27.2)

To think that the Scythian plant, for example, is brought from the marshes of Maeotis, Euphorbia from Mount Atlas and from beyond the pillars of Hercules, where the works of Nature actually begin to fail; on another side Britannica, from islands in the ocean lying beyond the mainland, Aethiopia too from the clime scorched by the constellations of heaven, and other plants moreover passing hither and thither from all quarters throughout the whole world for the welfare of mankind, all owing to the boundless grandeur of the Roman Peace, which displays in turn not men only with their different lands and tribes, but also mountains and peaks soaring into the clouds, their offspring, and also their plants.¹⁶

The abundance and display of the botanical gardens in the templum Pacis may reflect and echo the imperial message of the vegetal frieze of the ara Pacis. It was not merely that the frieze of the altar stressed the fecundity and renewal of Augustan peace, but also the control and ordering of nature, both through the simultaneous flourishing of all plants and the compositional units and symmetries of the frieze.¹⁷ In a similar fashion, the wall paintings of the subterranean dining room

¹⁵ See Pensabene (2013) 42–6, 71–6 for the use of polychrome marbles in both the forum Augustum and the templum Pacis; Plin. HN 8.64 for the importation of exotic animals for the Flavian amphitheatre; Edwards and Woolf (2003) for the idea of Rome as a cosmopolis.

¹⁶ Jones (1956).

¹⁷ See Castriota (1995) for a thorough analysis of the floral friezes of the ara Pacis as taken from two separate traditions in Hellenistic art to form a complex visual language expressing the renewal of the Augustan age; see also Evans (2003) 300–2; Rossini (2006) 80–93; Caneva (2010) 146–68.

of Livia's villa at Prima Porta evoke perpetual abundance and fruitfulness, with the fruits from all seasons flowering at once, and, in that very display, man's control over the bounties of nature.¹⁸ The 'impossible synchronicity', as Evans terms it, of the garden's flourishing is perhaps comparable to Pliny's taxonomy of the natural world: time, space, and known species are catalogued and controlled through Rome's *imperium*.¹⁹ That the botanical display in the templum Pacis may be viewed as a continuation of the Augustan ideas of renewal would certainly fit with the links Vespasian drew between his restoration projects and Augustus.²⁰ In the context of Pliny's interest in cataloguing and his view of a taxonomy of the whole world, it seems plausible that the meaning and purpose of the botanical display extends beyond ideological values of the Augustan images of idealized abundance and renewal, even though such displays indicate a control over nature. Pollard links the botanical gardens of the templum Pacis to the horrea Piperataria (pepper warehouse), connecting the symbolic displays of the complex of Peace of imported plants to the city's commercial and economic interests. Of course, trade with the East, particularly India, had existed since the Republic and was maintained and enhanced under Augustus. However, Vespasian sought to highlight the association of the importation of commodities with the importation of the plants that represented Rome's dominion over such luxuries: the peace that was celebrated in Vespasian's complex gave Rome access to the world market and control over the benefits of her expanding empire.²¹ The gardens of the templum Pacis were a fully realized expression of Rome's control, transforming the *pax augusta* of the formative years of the Roman Principate into the *pax Romana* celebrated by Pliny.

¹⁸ Kellum (1994b); Caneva (1999) stresses that the complexities of the painted garden—its axuality and repetition of its composition—have not been fully interpreted and explained, and sees represented an ideal garden in which the transitory nature of human life and the cycle of the cosmos are expressed.

¹⁹ Evans (2003) 303–4; Kellum (1994b) 217–24 on the structure and composition of the garden room and the floral frieze as depictions of victory and control over the natural world; Caneva (2010) 120–3, 166–8 on the conquest of space as depicted in the floral frieze of the ara Pacis.

²⁰ For a selective bibliography, see Heatley (1976) 86–133; Levick (1999) 65–78, 124–51; Griffin (2000) 1–46; Noreña (2003); Taraporewalla (2010).

²¹ Pollard (2009) 329–38. For relations between Rome and India under Augustus, see RG 31.1; Dio Cass. 54.9.8; Plin. HN 8.25.65; Cooley (2009) 249–50.

The development of an imperial conception of peace from the early stages of the representations of *pax augusta* during the slow birth of the new political structures to a fully fledged idea of the *pax Romana* by the mid-70s AD illustrates the integral value and position that peace had gained in a Roman imperial vision. Indeed, Seneca the Younger explicitly linked the existence and continuation of the *pax Romana* to the person of the emperor, who was the bond (*vinculum*) that bound the *res publica* together and the living breath (*spiritus vitalis*) of all who depended on the single figurehead who embodied Roman *imperium* (Sen. *Clem.* 1.4.1).²² Seneca's *de Clementia*, written at the beginning of Nero's reign (AD 55), presents an ideology for the new *princeps* and the Roman people regarding the realization of the *res publica* as a monarchical system. *Pax*, as the security and safety of the state, was firmly orientated around the imperial figure. As Griffin has highlighted, Seneca justifies Nero's position within the state firstly metaphysically and then historically, as a means of providing an ideology for the new ruler. Seneca cites Caesar as the first to have bound himself inextricably to the state, in a necessarily dependent relationship. Such a relationship, of the people submitting to the rule of the one, is presented as the cornerstone of the peace of Rome (1.4.2).²³

The association of the stability of the state with a single figure slowly emerged out of the debates over the security of the *res publica* during the collapse of the political system, and was closely bound up with the rhetoric of peace. This study has considered the ways in which peace dominated the discourse on the nature of Roman imperialism as the political institutions of the state were questioned and debated during the civil wars of the 40s and 30s BC, to the slow reformulation of powers around the single person of Augustus. Woolf's 1993 study on 'Roman Peace' emphasized the prominence that peace acquired under the new political institution of the Empire and the distinction between the conceptual purposes of *pax* under the Republican system and that under the imperial one. The previous chapters have examined this understanding specifically in order to illustrate the story of the conceptual changes and nuances of peace

²² Cic. *Rep.* 2.69 also sees the *res publica* held together by a bond (*vinculum*), although in his conceptualization it is *concordia* that holds the state together.

²³ See Griffin (1992) 129–71, esp. 133–41. Bernstein (2010) 65 remarks that the *pax Romana* was ultimately the *pax augusta*, 'eine nicht minder fromme Lüge'.

from Republic to Principate in more detail, highlighting the growing prominence of *pax* as an expression of *imperium*.

The civil wars of the late Republic evoked a response that brought the concept *pax* prominently into political discourse. During the early 40s Cicero was clearly preoccupied with the idea of *pax* as a form of negotiation and reconciliation between Caesar and Pompey. In fact, at this time, at least from Cicero's own private perspective, peace stood in opposition to victory, most likely because victory in the civil wars would mean the defeat of fellow Romans and, in Cicero's eyes, the collapse of a stable form of government. Caesar, on the other hand, appears to have sought a redefinition of victory, which was to express his position over the state based on his policy of mercy (Cic. *Att.* 9.7c.1). Peace and its relationship to victory were fluid and changing notions, very much dependent on the political players who made use of the concepts. *Pax* was now being used in the political discourse concerning the internal stability of the state, and as such it was used by those who sought to manipulate people's views. Cicero's manipulation of the political discourse on *pax* in 44–43 BC was driven by his desire to remove Antony, who at least appeared to be making a show of seeking peace and reconciliation with the senate, from the political scene. At this point Cicero publicly tied *pax* to the idea of victory, because he was trying to assert that only through the defeat of Antony could peace and stability be achieved for the state.

The political upheaval and civil conflicts of the 40s certainly influenced the use made of *pax* in the commemorations of 40 BC. Victory celebrations took place to commemorate the peace made between Antony and Octavian. Reconciliation had achieved stability for the state, and it was conceptualized as a form of victory. This use of peace and reconciliation was far nearer the definition of victory that Caesar spoke of during his conflicts with Pompey than Cicero's vision of a peace achieved through victory and defeat of Antony. Perhaps the senate had hoped that this would be a 'lasting victory' for the state and that the peace established would endure. Of course, the numbers of treaties and alliances of the early 30s illustrate the real fragility of the peace of 40. Still the desire to associate *pax* with the termination of civil conflict continued, most notably with Octavian's commemoration of his Sicilian victory: the erection of a columna rostrata in the Roman forum claiming that peace had finally been re-established by land and sea (App. *B Civ.* 5.130). The employment of peace within the

victory rhetoric of the final civil wars of the late Republic enabled the victors to commemorate their achievements and positions within the state without having to refer directly to their victory over fellow Romans: peace was established over the expanse of empire rather than in relation to an opponent. Specifically, this application of *pax* was expressed in terms of Roman *imperium* over the *orbis terrarum* and *terra marique*, tapping into Hellenistic ideas of world domination. In this respect, peace was no longer focused on reconciliation, but became an assertion of the newly emerging political structures, where there were no opponents to contend with. Certainly, the victory display at Nicopolis asserted a concept of peace as the expression of the control over the empire that Octavian had won through his victory.

The celebrations of victory at the end of the civil wars had adopted the rhetoric and language of *pax* in order to blur the line between civil and foreign conflicts, and to present the victory as something other than the defeat of another Roman. Ten years later, with Augustus firmly established as the *princeps* of the Roman state, the concern was very much about external enemies and threats to the stability of the empire. The celebrations of the *pax Parthorum* illustrate the closely bound relationship of *pax* to victory, whereby a diplomatic treaty was celebrated by the senate and Augustus at Rome as the ultimate victory and (symbolic) end of all triumphs. Augustus' ability to 'compel' the Parthians to seek peace with Rome was commemorated as a victory over the Parthians, and was later celebrated as an exemplum of the extent of Roman *imperium* within the forum Augustum. The power of Rome was articulated by foreign nations seeking peace and friendship with Rome, within a monument that celebrated Roman victory (Suet. *Aug.* 21.2). Under Augustus, the concept of victorious peace reached the height of its expression in the *ara Pacis Augustae*, which combined the concepts of victory with that of the stability and continuation of the Roman state from its mythical foundations to the state of *pax* of the present day. The monument expressed the achievements of Roman victory in terms of prosperity, and articulated Roman imperialism, to Rome, as the security of the Roman state achieved through victories (*parta victoriis pax*).

The story of *pax* from the late Republic to early Principate outlined in this study has focused on the use made of *pax* within Roman victory commemoration. But *pax* was not always used as part of victory commemoration, and the distinctions between when it was and was not used allow us an insight into the conception of

the term and how it was used to express Roman imperialism. *Pax* within victory commemoration was selective and predominantly used for a Roman audience.²⁴ One of the few times we find a monumental display celebrating *pax* outside Rome is at Nicopolis. It is perhaps the contrast and distinction between the display at Nicopolis and that at Rome which is so striking in the year 29. The honours voted to Octavian at Rome are far more concerned with concealing the issues of civil war than celebrating peace: true, the closing of the gates of Janus signified the cessation of war, but the intention of the senate here is very different from the message of peace that Octavian displayed at Nicopolis. As the meaning of *pax* during the civil wars of the 40s was dependent on the political players using the concept, so too was the articulation of *pax* in victory celebrations of 29 dependent on their authors. Despite the celebration made by Octavian in 36 on the restoration of peace, the senate clearly chose not to assert a strong message of peace in the wake of Octavian's defeat of Antony. The celebrations at Rome were fundamentally concerned with the foreign aspects of the wars, although allusions were made to Antony's disgrace as a Roman statesman. It appears that Octavian considered a message of peace as an expression of an empire won, appropriate to use in the East. There was no commemoration of the civil war at Nicopolis either. Octavian's victory had been for the stability of the *res publica*, which guaranteed peace for the empire.

By 13 BC, Augustus and the senate choose to conceptualize the pacification of the world to an audience at Rome in terms of *pax augusta*, although in the Alps themselves the state-driven commemorations of the pacification stressed the idea of Roman *imperium* over the subjugated Alpine races without any reference to peace.²⁵ Given that there does not appear to have been an official impetus from the centre to disseminate the concept of *pax augusta*, at least in the wake

²⁴ The small altars to *pax augusta* from Narbo and Praeneste suggest that the ara Pacis Augustae in Rome influenced commemorations in Roman colonies in the West.

²⁵ On the Alpine trophy at La Turbie, see Plin. *NH* 3.136–7; Formigé (1949), Formigé (1955); Binninger (2004), Binninger (2009). The discourse on Roman imperialism and the pacification of the Alps is perhaps most interesting on the Augustan arch at Segusio, where peace is again not directly employed in the monument, but Cottius chose to conceptualize the pacification of the region as a moment of integration into the Roman empire, and articulates the new relationships established: see Cornwell (2015b).

of the pacification of the West, it is noteworthy that it nevertheless gains currency in the provinces, albeit in limited numbers. The Roman concept of peace, as with other aspects of Roman thought and culture, was appropriated by communities who experienced direct or indirect control from the imperial centre. Despite the later accusation made by Tacitus' Calgacus concerning the realities of Roman *pax* and *imperium*, the acceptance of the *pax augusta* and Pax Augusta by communities in both the West and the East indicates that the concept was engaged with and promoted as a sincere means of communing with the imperial figure of Augustus.

It is clear that *pax* became, over the course of the period, integrated into imperial rhetoric and an important part of a discourse on Roman imperialism. The idea of *pax* as a concept of negotiation, conflict, and victory, which developed during the civil wars of the late Republic, brought it fully into the political vocabulary of the period. Given the fluidity of the concept in the 40s and 30s, Octavian was able to continue to use it in his victory rhetoric after Actium: it came to represent not just the internal stability of the state, but an empire-wide security to be imposed. (Verg. *Aen.* 6.852: *pacique imponere morem*). *Pax* became an expression and justification for the Empire, although, by the end of the Augustan Principate, it was still mainly confined to displays at Rome or in Roman colonies. Thus, *pax* was a way for Romans to understand and explain the Empire.²⁶ But it was rarely, it seems, directly presented to non-Roman audiences, even though it appears to have been taken up as an acceptable means of articulating relations with the imperial centre.

In AD 13, when Augustus wrote his *Res Gestae*, he conceptualized Roman imperialism as an expression of peace achieved through victories:

Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax.
(RG 13).

Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when peace had been achieved by victories on land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people.

²⁶ Barton (2007) 251–2.

Yet this view of Roman *imperium* was not propagated in the Greek version of the text. There is a conspicuous absence of the concept of victory to express Rome's pacification of the world:

πύλην Ἐννάλιον, ἣν κεκλῖσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἠθέλησαν εἰρηνευομένης
τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πάσης γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης. (RG 13).

The gate of War, which our ancestors desired to be closed once all land and sea were brought to peace by the Romans.

Victorious *pax* was still very much an expression of *imperium* from a Roman perspective; however, the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* demonstrates that whilst the association of 'peace' at the time was understood as being tied into a concept of Roman hegemony, this was not presented as victory, but rather as showing the blessings bestowed by Rome. In a similar fashion the adoption of dedications to *pax augusta* under Augustus (and perpetuated under later emperors) in both the East and West suggests, indirectly, an acceptance of an imperial framework for ordering the world. The acceptance of *pax/εἰρήνη* as the property of the Romans illustrates how Rome had achieved a rule of peace over the Empire.

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